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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER

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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

BY THE RIGHT HON. THE

EARL OF MALMESBURY, G.C.B.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I.

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1884

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MEMOIRS OF AN EX-MINISTER.

INTRODUCTION.

I TRUST that the readers of these Memoirs will not expect a continuous narrative, but rather a *macédoine* of memoranda, diary, and correspondence, recalling the social and political events of a busy life of seventy-seven years. The subject-matter contained in my private political letters appeared more than a quarter of a century ago, in the Blue-books and newspapers of the day, in a more official and less familiar style, but is in substance the same as that which was at the time given to the public. My principal object has been to sketch the three Administrations of the late Earl of Derby, whose colleague I was, and also some incidents respecting one of the most remarkable men of this century—namely, the Emperor Louis Napoleon, who, during all Lord Derby's Governments, played so important a part in his policy and the great game of Europe. I will only add that, of men, events, and common things, I wrote as they appeared to me at the time, and have altered nothing since they were noted.

I was born on March 25th, 1807, in Spring Gardens. My mother, Lady Fitzharris, was at that moment at the mercy of Latona, and my father sitting alone in the next room, anxiously waiting to be informed of the goddess's

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gift. A knock at the door seemed to bring him the news; but, instead of the Æsculapius, to his surprise a King's messenger walked in with a letter from Mr. Canning, then Foreign Secretary, announcing my father's appointment as Under Secretary at the Foreign Office. In a few minutes my arrival into the world was proclaimed.

Now, I have often thought that if Guy Mannering had been present in Spring Gardens, as he was at Ellangowan, he would have taken my horoscope, as he did for Lady Bertram's boy, and found that the star of the Foreign Office was hovering over that locality, destining the son, forty years after, to reign over the same desks to which the father was appointed at the very moment of his son's birth. More than this, that under so mysterious a coincidence and concatenation of circumstances, I could not avoid my fate in 1852 and 1858–9, and whatever credit or blame I may have acquired during my management of foreign affairs, it is certain that the stars must be responsible for both. My father did not long remain at his new post, as the insincerity of politics was little suited to his susceptible feelings of morality and honour, and he told me the chief reason of his resignation was the affair in 1807, when we seized the Danish fleet to prevent Napoleon from doing so. When this wise but high-handed measure was determined upon he had to keep the Danish Minister in London ignorant of his intentions; but as the poor man suspected them, and was in the most nervous state, calling daily at the Foreign Office, Mr. Canning used to refuse to see him, and handed him over to my father, whose duty it was to conceal, and even to deny, our designs.

This was not a *rôle* suited to his character, although an indispensable policy.

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All this time the great war with Napoleon was raging by sea and land. Few are alive, now that I am seventy-seven years of age, to have any idea of the excitement and resolution which pervaded this country. The name of Bonaparte was till 1815 the bugbear of English mothers and nurses to rule their wayward children. His name was in every one's mind, and pronounced with execration. The country resounded with the arms of volunteers, yeomanry, and militia. Every one of our naval successes and Spanish victories saw the Union Jack hoisted on the towers of our churches, and the details, printed in our then scanty newspapers, were read to shouting crowds in our market-places. No wonder that such scenes made deep impression on the minds of even very young boys, as they did on mine and my brother's. At last, in 1814, when we were seven and six years old respectively, the allied armies entered Paris, and Napoleon was exiled to Elba. On the 23rd of June of that year a grand naval review took place at Spithead to celebrate the Peace, at which my father was obliged to be present as Governor of the Isle of Wight, and to which he went in his official yacht. Such a sight can never be forgotten, however young the spectator may have been.

The Solent was literally covered with vessels of all descriptions. Many men-of-war had been recalled from their stations at the recent Peace, but had not yet been paid off. The allied sovereigns stood on the quarter-deck of the 'Impregnable,' where my father went to make his obeisance, taking us with him. The Emperor Alexander, standing on the quarter-deck, overawed us with his tall, stiff figure, and his tight leather breeches and jack-boots, and we were glad to return on board the 'Medina'—our yacht. A great many naval officers boarded us, and I remember that I was struck

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with the arrogant language and demeanour of many of them —natural, perhaps, after their services, a long enjoyment of victory, and the despotic atmosphere of the quarter-deck. These, however, were mostly young men. The uniform at that time was very becoming—blue, with white facings, epaulets, and tight white pantaloons, with Hessian boots and gold tassels. Of course they were all in full dress for this great naval festival.

The conversation of our visitors varied. Civilians and taxpayers rejoiced at the prospect of a long-desired peace; soldiers and sailors grumbled at what they thought was the end of their career, and of an active life, and loudly expressed themselves to that effect. But all were in a fool's paradise; for, six months after that day, 'the lion was unchained,' and within five days of the anniversary of this gorgeous function, in the next year, the two great captains of the age were engaged in their last and most deadly struggle on the plain of Waterloo.

I remember being called up one morning in 1815 at Richmond House, where we lived, to see the Life Guards and Blues march for the war down Parliament Street, as they passed our windows with laurel on their helmets and horses' heads, their wives and sweethearts standing on their stirrups for a farewell kiss. It was a grand and moving sight, and would have been still more so had we known that not half of them were destined to return.

I mentioned my father's official yacht, the 'Medina,' but she deserves further notice. She was the connecting link between the ships painted by Vandervelde and those which preceded ironclads. She was built in William III.'s reign, and cutter-rigged; her sides were elaborately gilded. She was highest by the stern, with such a deep waist forward

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as to endanger her going down head foremost if she shipped a heavy sea. She had very little beam, and her complement consisted of Captain Love, R.N., the master, and twelve men. She measured 80 tons.

Such was the Governor of the Isle of Wight's yacht, in which, as boys, we were taken to cruise in the safe waters of the Solent.

Commander Love seemed to have perpetual leave, and the yacht was relegated to Mr. Butcher, the master, who always looked like a sailor in a play, and was, indeed, little better, being generally in a confused state of mind as to the course we were to take or the direction of the wind. He was, however, well replaced by the boatswain, an 'old salt.' The continual absence of Captain Love was, I believe, caused by his not being a *grata persona* to the ladies, so that Mr. Butcher had all the responsibility of sailing the craft. This suddenly ceased, after the following occurrence, when our father refused to let us sail any more, and the 'Medina' was abolished.

One day, the butler, who was acting as steward, rushed on deck the picture of terror. 'My lord, the yacht has sprung a leak, and water is flowing into the cabin.' Down the companion plunged Mr. Butcher, and in a moment confirmed the news. 'My lord, it is already over my shoes, and I must run her on shore in Alum Bay, before she goes down.'

'I don't believe it,' said my father. Mr. Butcher, as pale as death, looks over the side and replies, 'Don't your lordship see she is settling fast?' 'No, I don't,' says my father. At this critical moment the boatswain comes up with a grin, touching his hat and choking with laughter—'Please, my lord, it's only the cistern of the w.-c. that has got adrift.'

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So the 'Medina' was not run ashore, but she was never sent to sea again, and Mr. Butcher enjoyed his pension and his grog evermore in peace.

My childhood was passed chiefly at Heron Court, an old manor house near Christchurch, which, with a considerable property, was left to my grandfather in 1795 by Mr. Edward Hooper, the last of a very old Dorsetshire family. He had married Lady Dorothy Ashley, whose sister was wife of Mr. Harris, my great-great-grandfather. The house is Elizabethan, and was once the residence of the Priors of Christchurch. The first Lord Malmesbury repaired and added to it. It has all the character of its origin, standing low among very ancient elms, within a mile of three rivers—namely, the Stour, Avon, and Herne, now called the Moors River, from its rising in the wilds of Cranbourne and running through uninterrupted heaths. Their waters converge in Christchurch Bay. All this district belonged, according to Doomsday Book, to Tosti, King Harold's brother, and was bestowed by William the Conqueror on Hugo de Porth, one of his Norman barons. During the long war with France this wild country, which extended in an uncultivated state from Christchurch to Poole, was the resort of smugglers upon a large scale. The last Mr. Hooper was chairman of customs, and the late Lord Shaftesbury, father of the noble philanthropist now living, told me this anecdote as characteristic of the times. About 1780 Lord Shaftesbury was sitting at dinner in the low hall at Heron Court with his relation, the latter having his back to the window. The road, which has since been turned, passed by the front door of the house. Suddenly an immense clatter of waggons and horses disturbed their meal, and six or seven of these, heavily loaded with kegs, rushed past at full gallop. Lord Shaftesbury

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jumped up to look at the sight, but the old squire sat still, refusing to turn round, and eating his dinner complacently. Soon after a detachment of cavalry arrived with their horses blown, and asking which way the smugglers had gone. Nobody would tell them, and no doubt they got safely into the New Forest. The smugglers had dashed through two deep fords in the Stour close by, which the soldiers had refused, and so lost their prey. These fords are the same through which Sir Walter Tyrrell rode red-handed for his life on his way to Poole after he had crossed the Avon at a place which bears his name, Tyrrell's Ford. For many years the Manor of Avon paid a fine annually to the Crown for not stopping the regicide at the ford. At the beginning of the present century, and during the war, a great contraband trade was carried on. And I myself, when a small boy, had an adventure with these heroes. I was bird-nesting in one of the copses in the park by myself when a rough fellow seized me, and seeing I was frightened was very civil, promising to let me go in an hour if I did not resist. He kept his word, and made me swear I would not tell of the incident. Although rated when I got home for my long absence, I did not betray the man or his companions, whom I saw in the wood hiding kegs of brandy, of which they insisted on giving me a specimen.

In the worst period of the war, when gold was hardly to be found, a tenant named King, who held a small farm by Cranbourne Heath, and who was in arrear, sent his little daughter with the entire rent (100*l.*) in guineas and French louis-d'or to my father. This way of paying in coin spoke for itself as to Mr. King's habit of not accepting assignats. The following anecdote I learnt from Dr. Quartley, who had practised for nearly fifty years as a medical man at

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Christchurch. He had not long been in business there when he was awakened one night by a loud thumping at his door. Opening his window, he could distinguish two men muffled up in drab horseman's great-coats and with heavy whips in their hands, with which they were knocking at his door. On hearing the window open they exclaimed, 'Come, doctor, be quick! You are wanted!' Though he did not much like the look of the thing, he thought it better to slip on his clothes and go down to them. They told him they had a job for him, and that he must get his horse out of the stable and come along with them. After a little hesitation he obeyed their call, and found himself, with a companion on each side, trotting towards the old bridge. When they reached it, they whistled and were joined by two other horsemen. All proceeded in silence some distance over the heath leading to the New Forest by Bransgore. At last they turned down a lane and came to a lone cottage, such as are to be seen in these districts. 'There, doctor,' cried one of his companions, breaking the long silence—'there is some work for you! Step in.' On entering he found extended on the floor a fine young man in a sea-faring garb, who appeared to be suffering severely. On inquiring he found that he had been wounded in an affray with the custom-house officers. Dr. Quartley succeeded in extracting a ball from his back, and when he had done this, one of his quondam companions came in and asked him (Dr. Quartley) what he thought of it. He answered that the wound was dangerous, and that the young man must be kept quiet. 'Well, Tom!' said the other, 'willst thee stay here and be hanged, or shall we tip thee into the cart?' The wounded man preferred the latter alternative to Dr. Quartley's injunction, and two of them took charge of him, and led him

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through a dark night and in dead silence back to the old bridge, and there bidding him farewell, cantered off. At the conclusion of the same winter he was again awakened by a loud rap at his door, and in the morning his maid brought in a keg of fine French brandy, which she had found on his steps, and on which was written, 'Left there for the doctor's fee.' Fifteen summers afterwards Dr. Quartley dined at Mr. Mills's at Bisterne, and in the evening they went on the Avon. In getting into the boat, Dr. Quartley observed that one of the men who rowed it was particularly attentive to him, so much so that he observed, 'My man, you look as if I ought to know you.' 'Know me! please your honour! I be he from whose back you cut out a slug fifteen years ago. Don't you mind on't?' He had been carried into the forest, where by the aid of a good constitution he had recovered, and at the time of this second meeting was working in Mr. Mills's garden.

The principal stronghold round which the smugglers operated was the sea-shore and its hollow cliffs that run from Christchurch Head to Poole, then a district of gorse and heath for ten miles, with fir-woods above them. In this wild country black-game were abundant, and in 1826 I shot an old blackcock on the very spot where St. Peter's Church at Bournemouth now (1884) stands. This waste was a favourite resort and breeding-ground of the Hen-harrier, a very destructive species of hawk. They built their nests under the furze-bushes, and from these impenetrable places used to issue forth and plunder the cultivated country outside for many miles. There was only one way of finding their nests, which our keeper adopted in the breeding season. When he saw one crossing the valley to hunt the fields and carry off its prey to the moors, he

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watched it till out of sight, and on the next day posted himself at that point. The bird was sure to come along the same line, and again the man followed it as far as he could see, and so again day by day for sometimes five miles, until he arrived at the nest and shot the old birds.

The gamekeepers of my youth had much of the Mohican about them, and had not degenerated into poultry-wives by rearing thousands of tame pheasants to be shot by their masters like pigeons at Hurlingham. The well-known sportsman Grantley Berkeley used to declare that when he engaged a gamekeeper the first thing he did was to look at the knees of his breeches to see if he *trapped* vermin, &c., and if they were *clean* he declined taking him, however good his character might be—all questions as to rough readiness being answered by this test.

The wild heath which I describe is no more, and its rapid metamorphosis into Bournemouth is certainly a wonder of civilisation. In 1830 there were not more than half a dozen houses and cottages where now one of our largest and most fashionable seaside places stands, with all the usual accompaniments of clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and the inevitable M.P. of Radical proclivities. It has already eight churches, each congregation dogmatically pitying the theological *lâches* of the other. I must mention that no part of England affords better opportunities of observing natural history than this district of Hampshire. The Avon and Stour salmon are famous; and these rivers contain large pike, perch, trout, grayling, chub, tench, and crawfish. Every variety of British bird—even the rarest—is in the small museum at Heron Court, all having been killed within five miles of my house. The songsters abound in our woods, whilst every sort of wild-fowl, from the Hooper to the Teal,

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frequents our three rivers and the ponds on the heaths. Several eagles have been shot here within my memory, and a lesser bustard (a very rare bird) was killed by Lord Palmerston.

The moors are famous for exceptional butterflies and other insects, and used to be the favourite hunting grounds of the celebrated entomologist, Curtis, whose book abounds in references to Heron Court.

On these heaths there are many barrows, of which I have opened three. In the first the layers of turf were perfectly preserved in slices, one upon another, and on reaching the level the body was clearly delineated in black bone-dust. In the second the ashes were in a vase of unbaked pottery, and in the third there was only a beautiful twisted bracelet of solid gold.

Many of these mounds have never yet been opened.

It was in this, at that time very wild country, that, as boys, we disported ourselves and imbibed an eternal affection for it and its traditions. My father lived at Heron Court for ten months out of the twelve, inconsolable at the death of our mother, which happened in 1815, at the age of thirty-two, and for twenty-six years during which he survived her he mourned her with the same sorrow. Until his own death in 1841, not a plant in her garden or a trinket in her boudoir was ever moved or changed.

When in the country during the game season he hardly ever missed a day's shooting, and kept a journal of his sport with a column of every shot killed and missed during forty years. This curious book I showed to Lord Beaconsfield, who was extremely struck with it, declaring it to be the most extraordinary example of patience and a sturdy character he ever saw. With all this devotion to sport he read

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everything, ancient and modern; and, having lived with clever men and in anxious times, during the early part of this century, his conversation was most amusing and instructive. Although a Tory of the purest school, and of unbending politics, he was in private life most generous and liberal in all his sentiments; but he had seen his country borne through all its difficulties, and in its darkest hours, by the proud aristocracy which then governed it, and which the repeated successes of Napoleon never discouraged when the heart of all Europe failed, and he dreaded, like many others, to change this Constitution of England for a democracy which, more fickle and less enduring in its nature, after bravely resisting misfortune at first, would sooner yield to disappointment and disaster. When, therefore, fifteen years after the war, the great Reform Bill of 1832 passed, he helped to resist it by his vote to the last. When I used to hear all around me denunciations and prophecies against it, I little thought that, thirty years later, I should be taking the initiative, as a Cabinet Minister, in framing another reform of the franchise, far more democratic than the first, and of which Lord Derby confessed, when he proposed it in 1867, that it was a 'leap in the dark.'

Long, however, before these events took place my brother and I, being respectively eight and seven years old, were sent to a private school at Wimborne, under the Rev. Mr. Bowle, one of the three incumbents who served the ancient minster. There were sixteen boys, all out of Hants and Dorset; not one of these knew a word of French, for that language had been banished during the long war, and was considered by the squires of the day as almost treason. The previous generation had spoken it, but it seemed to have died out in England with them. As it was the first tongue

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which we were taught, I believe we had a decided French accent when we went to school, and this was visited upon us accordingly in the shape both of verbal and personal persecution by our school-fellows. Another indictment attended with punishment was served against us—namely, that our father killed foxes. We were therefore called 'vulpecides,' without knowing what the term meant, but which we soon learnt from the lickings we got from the boys whose parents kept hounds. It was useless to protest that we lived in a country which never had been and could not be hunted, owing to its many rivers, and in which a fox-hound had never been seen. At last we agreed that the next time the most offensive of our tyrant squires attacked one of us we would both fall on him at once, and notwithstanding his superior size, do our best.

The event came off as we hoped, and, contrary to our expectation, the others, although they had joined in the bullying, took our part. Such is the nature of an English school, which, whatever its faults may be, teaches a man to keep his head with his own hand. We were three years at Wimborne, learning nothing but Latin and Greek grammar and coming home twice a year for our holidays. My mother was dead, and my father never came to see us, as he thought it disturbed our studies—such studies! Lord Malmesbury, our grandfather, sometimes did so, and when his visit occurred it caused great sensation in the house, as seventy years ago an old earl would not on any account have driven to an important country town without four horses to his carriage and his star on his coat. I remember that one of these calls saved me at the very moment of impending execution.

The old clergyman and his wife were kind and popular, although he administered, in some degree with justice,

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corporal punishment, which, as applied to knowledge, always seems to me imparting it at the wrong end of a boy. Mr. Bowle was an eccentric man, and a strict observer of saints' days and dates, which gave us and himself more half holidays than were necessary. On this principle, being fond of his garden, he never would plant his tulips except on Good Friday, which, being a movable feast, made them come up at the most various periods of the spring. The dates of the deaths of General Wolfe and Nelson claimed an annual holiday, and we used to search Moore's Almanack for obituaries of great men. Mr. Bowle quieted his conscience and condoned his own idleness by saying that these researches taught us history. We left Wimborne after three years, and when, in 1852, I was made Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I presented the old minster with a window as a votive offering of thanks for whatever Mr. Bowle's school might have contributed to this success.

We then remained at Heron Court under a private tutor till we were sent to Eton in 1820, the same gentleman accompanying us. Mr. Cook had taken a first-class at Oxford, and was a young man. I owe him a great deal of instruction on many subjects. He was an excellent classical scholar, but I think his great merit was to make his pupils love general information and art in all its branches—namely, painting, architecture, natural history, and geology. Everything amused and interested him, and he communicated his feelings to his pupils.

I have said that the country round Heron Court opened a good field for natural history, but for geology it was equally good. The east cliffs of Christchurch Bay possess in their recesses the best specimens of the fossils of the blue London clay, both of shells and of the Saurians' bones,

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and Mr. Cook inspired us with a real enthusiasm for finding and forming a complete collection of these. Since that time the cliffs have crumbled away and the sea has gained. The stratum of clay has dipped too deeply to find them, but at that period they could be gathered near the surface. A Mr. Brander, who lived in the neighbourhood, had in the last century made a perfect collection from these cliffs, and presented it to the British Museum, having engraved each specimen in such a beautiful volume that it is now one of the rare prizes of bibliophiles. This collection was extant at the British Museum thirty years ago, when I saw it there, but I cannot find it there now.

Christchurch, till the Reform Bill of 1832, was a close borough, but the fourteen burgesses who were the electors of two members were bought by Sir George Rose, Mr. Pitt's Lord of the Treasury, and he and his son sat for it till the Reform Bill of 1832 expelled them. Christchurch has produced two distinguished men—namely, Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn and Admiral Lord Lyons. It has never been a thriving town in comparison with others which have the advantage of a direct railway to London. These quiet places appear sometimes as if their great age prevented any further growth, and as if, at Christchurch, its old castle and grand old church would not permit the invasion of modern things, and of what is called 'progress.' Bournemouth, only four miles off, has monopolised these, and allows its placid neighbour to enjoy the *dolce far niente*.

My brother Edward and I went to Eton in 1821, and were put in the 'Remove.' There were at that time six hundred boys at the college. Mr. Cook accompanied us, and we were the only boys who brought a private tutor, except the Duke of Buccleuch, Lord John Scott, and the sons of the

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Duke of Wellington. It is a bad plan, as these gentlemen always help their pupils, and thereby give a false measure of their capacity. I was fag to Trench, brother of the subsequent Archbishop of Dublin, a very good-natured boy. We boarded at a dame's, Miss Middleton. I took to boating in preference to cricket, and used to steal out early in the morning to shoot moor-hens up the river, borrowing an old flint honey-combed gun from a cad named Hall. On one of these occasions, in climbing over the spikes on our garden wall, I slipped and was impaled by the arm till my shouts brought assistance, and the pain I suffered long afterwards was allowed by the authorities to be sufficient punishment.

There were several pitched battles in my day, in one of which, young Ashley,[1] a most gallant boy, was killed. A very desperate one occurred between a big boy of sixteen, named Kemp, and Yeo, much smaller and younger, which the latter won by sheer pluck, a quality he long afterwards displayed in the Crimean war, where he commanded the 7th Fusiliers, and fell at the storming of the Redan. He was head of one of the oldest families in Somerset, and, I believe, last of his race. The Windsor and Slough coaches used to stop under the playing-field wall to see these duels. My public tutor was Ben Drury, a clever man and great scholar, but wild in his habits and a thorn in the side of the immortal Dr. Keate. He presided over the 'Remove,' and we often found we had a holiday on Monday morning, as the headache which he had contracted in London the previous day confined him to his bed. He made beautiful Latin verses, and drove four-in-hand better than any whip between Windsor and London. The trial of Queen Caroline was going on, and the boys all took a strong part for George IV.—

[1] A son of Lord Shaftesbury.

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why, I never understood—and, the townsmen siding for the Queen, there were constant riots and free fights between the two parties of 'town and gown.' My grandfather, Lord Malmesbury, died in 1821, aged seventy-five, and next year I lost the companionship of my brother, who went to the Naval College of Portsmouth, and afterwards to sea.[1] In 1852 I appointed him to the Consulship of Copenhagen, and then as Chargé d'Affaires in Chili. During our winter holidays my father used to send us to Wilton and Bowood. He was guardian to Lord Pembroke's children, and we, having no sisters, enjoyed our visits there greatly with the daughters of the house, who were charming children. At Bowood we met Mr. Stanley, afterwards Lord Derby, and Prime Minister, then quite young, but looked up to by the Whigs as full of promise.

Lord Lansdowne,[2] one of their leaders, and a very distinguished one, was the type of an accomplished gentleman. We always found Tom Moore, the poet, at Bowood, who used to sing his own verses with taste and spirit. He was the smallest man I ever saw. I recollect that Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Stanley then wore the old Whig dress, a blue coat with brass buttons, and a buff waistcoat.

Buff and blue
And Mrs. Crewe,

was the *refrain* of the party in the days of Fox.

I left Eton with great regret in 1823, to remain at Heron Court under Mr. Cook until I went to Oriel College, Oxford, in 1825. Coplestone, afterwards Bishop of Llandaff, was Provost; Tyler Dean, Dornford—who had served in the

[1] He was afterwards M.P. for Christchurch and H.M. Minister at Berne and the Hague.

[2] The Marquis of Lansdowne died in 1865.

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Peninsular War—and Newman, tutors. Of this last celebrated writer and divine, and now a cardinal, no one at that time would have predicted the future career. He used to allow his class to torment him with the most helpless resignation; every kind of mischievous trick was, to our shame, played upon him—such as cutting his bell-rope, and at lectures making the table advance gradually till he was jammed into a corner. He remained quite impassive, and painfully tolerant. I once saw him nearly driven from Coplestone's table, when the Provost, who was an epicure, upbraided him for what he called 'mutilating' a fine haunch of venison, and shouting out, 'Mr. Newman, you are unconscious of the mischief you have done.' At Oriel, the undergraduates who in after-life came more or less to the front, and were my contemporaries, were Samuel Wilberforce, as Bishop of Winchester; Sir Edmund Head, as Governor of Canada; Welby, M.P. for Grantham; H. Wise, for Warwickshire; Holford, for Gloucestershire; Parker, for Devon. It was, on the whole, a quiet college. Welby, Lord E. Thynne, and I kept a scratch pack to run a bagged fox after lectures, as hunting with regular hounds was forbidden. Ours were called the 'Gazington,' and were hunted by a rascal named Butler, who was hanged a few years after for stealing a horse.

I took my degree as early as I could in 1827, and afterwards paid some visits in the country, such as to Newby Park (Lord Grantham's), and Chillingham, Lord Tankerville's castle in Northumberland. The latter is one of the oldest inhabited in England, and famous for its breed of wild cattle, the date of whose location in this part is unknown; but the park itself, which is 1,500 acres, was walled in during the reign of King John, and they were probably

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enclosed in it at that date. Lady Tankerville was Mdlle. de Gramont; was sent over to England to escape the Reign of Terror, and was received and brought up by the Duchess of Devonshire. She was a beautiful woman, and ruled the world of fashion, together with Lady Jersey and Lady Palmerston, for many years, all three of these remarkable women having lived to above eighty. Count d'Orsay was the last of the dandies as a ruler of men—I speak, of course, of *young* men. He was not only remarkable for his presence, but for his wit and conversation, which gained salt from his foreign accent, and also for some talent in painting and modelling. He made two excellent portraits of the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst, both of whom sat to him. He lived at Lady Blessington's, at Kensington Gore, which was an agreeable house for men, although not visited by Englishwomen; and there I often met the Bulwers, Disraeli, Dickens, and last, not least, Prince Louis Napoleon, during his exile, after his escape from Ham, where he was imprisoned for his unsuccessful attempt at Boulogne.

On June 1, 1828, Montague Parker (who had been with me at Eton and Oxford) and I left England in a Rotterdam packet, accompanied by a *soi-disant* courier, an old Swiss servant of my uncle, the Rev. A. Harris, and who soon reversed our respective positions, inasmuch as we had to take care of him. We arrived at Amsterdam, and thence went to the Hague, where Sir Charles and Lady Bagot represented our King, George IV.

Here I was much impressed by an example of the marvellous constitution of Dutch women. Being invited to dinner by Sir Charles on the day following our arrival, it happened that we found our white evening waistcoats, which were at that period indispensable articles, so much rumpled

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by our journey as to be useless. The pseudo-courier came, as pale as a sheet, to say that 'un grand malheur lui était arrivé, et que la blanchisseuse qui avait les gilets venait d'accoucher.' There was nothing for it but to submit, and to appear at the Ambassador's in dowdy clothes; but what was our relief and surprise, when the hour arrived, to see the young mother herself walk into our room with the garments, apparently as well as if nothing had happened to her, although her baby was only twelve hours old!

We travelled all through Holland, a country totally unlike any other, and well worth knowing in its *belle laideur*. We then posted up the Rhine, full of Byron, with whose poetry all Europe was then mad, and who was spoken of as the personification of Satan in sin and beauty. We proceeded up the Rhine by steam, through Switzerland to Geneva, which in 1828 wore a very different aspect from its present one. The luxurious hotels of later times were not thought of; and the best, but a very old-fashioned one, the 'Balances,' received us. It is the same in which Casanova's romance with his Henriette took place, and they showed the pane of glass, which he mentions, on which he had cut her name with his ring. At the *table-d'hôte* there were several of Napoleon's old officers, with their usual swagger. Our gallant Colonel Brotherton was also there. He was known in the Peninsular war as a *sabreur*, and for his personal courage, and he spoke French like a native. One day at dinner the eternal subject of Waterloo was discussed by various officers, and, as usual, with great heat by the French. Brotherton sat silent and took no part. Suddenly a Frenchman, not a soldier, asked him, as he had been at the battle, why he did not give an opinion. Brotherton replied coolly, 'Je suis venu ici, monsieur, pour dîner, et pas pour discuter.' The

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foreigner proceeded to sneer at Brotherton, who still continued quiet till the Frenchman called him a coward. Then the colonel jumped up, and, breaking up his wooden chair like a stick, shook the leg in his face. I shall never forget the rapid retreat of the aggressor. All the table cheered Brotherton, and chiefly an old General Rouget, well known in the Peninsular war, who weighed twenty stone and yet had never been hit. The disturber of our dinner turned out to be a hell-keeper from Aix.

General Sir William Gallwey had a villa near, at Châtelaine, and his wife, Lady Harriet, *née* Quin, with two pretty and clever daughters, contributed during three months to the delights of a fine summer. The youngest of these married the Comte de Bonneval, the other died unmarried at an advanced age, and for the last years of her life her little house in Belgravia was the resort of many clever men and politicians. She herself was one of the best-read and most sensible women I ever met, an excellent artist, and with a great appreciation of agreeable society.

My enjoyment of Geneva was suddenly arrested by an accident which nearly proved fatal. Parker and I had taken a house at Paquis, a mile out of the town, next to Captain Moseley, who was a great swordsman, and with whom I took lessons in fencing from a M. Marcelin. One day, as he stopped me in a rush, his foil broke short off, and ran into my armpit at the 'défaut du plastron,' and through the right lung. My impression was that Moseley, who was standing behind me, had given me a blow in jest; and, as I turned to remonstrate, the blood flowed from my mouth, and I fell. Marcelin sucked the wound in vain, as I bled internally.[1] Dr. Jenks, ex-surgeon of the 10th Hussars,

[1] I found Dr. Jenks fifty-three years after at Bath, aged ninety-two, with the diagnosis of my case, which he had kept.

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pronounced the case to be probably fatal, but when M. Major, an old practitioner of Napoleon's army, was called in, he bled me till I fainted, saying, 'Il n'a que 21 ans; il faut le saigner blanc.' In a few days I was out of danger, but it was reckoned by all the surgeons a miraculous escape, the diaphragm being pierced. The spasms which I suffered were very painful, but I never thought I was dying, although I heard Major, who thought I was insensible, say so in the common but unwritable language of the 'Corps de Garde.' Parker had gone on a tour, and I owe my life to Moseley, who hardly ever left me, night or day, until I was safe. One evening he had gone to dine at his uncle's, Sir William Gallwey, and I was left alone, with the family courier and a *garde-malade*. The weather was hot, their room was next to mine, and the door open; they were drinking and talking loud, and I heard them counting my clothes and uniforms, and speculating how much they would get for them when I was dead. At last their conversation appeared to me to be getting dangerous as the potations increased, and, being perfectly helpless, I was quite prepared to feel a thumb on my throat, when, to my relief, I heard Moseley come up the stairs. He found these worthies drunk in the midst of my scattered wardrobe. In a moment he had hurled them both downstairs into the street, and tended me all night, and until I got a nurse.

We little know one another, and if, reader, you had asked anyone in London the character of Captain Moseley, of the Life Guards, you would have been told that he was the most selfish and unfeeling of dandies; and yet, when this man found me deserted and in danger of death, no mother could have been more attentive and tender. Two years later the poor fellow committed suicide in a fit of brain

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fever, for the very want of that attendance which he had given me.

In October we all three went to Italy over the Simplon, by the then new road, and descended upon Milan. The Napoleonic events were then comparatively recent, and in proportion important and interesting. Thence to Venice, which was in the hands of Austria, and, like the whole north of Italy, seething with hatred of the Tedesco and of the Papal power. The Carbonari were very active, and among the most so were the brothers Bonaparte (sons of Louis), Pepoli, General Repè, Prince Belgioso, and the Princess. These were the *entourage* of Queen Hortense, who had an agreeable house at Rome. Conspiracy was universal, and the severities of the governments were in proportion. England was at that moment under the Duke of Wellington, a Tory Government, and consequently Englishmen were in great favour with the despotic rulers of Italy, and could do anything with impunity. The Catholic question had not been settled, and the Reform Bill not yet heard of. The Whigs had been out of office for nearly twenty years, and at that time the liberation of Italy from a foreign yoke seemed impossible, those who spoke of it being looked upon as fanatics. The French Revolution of 1830 took place two years after, changing everything, and showing that all was feasible, although it was only a beginning of the 'letting in of waters.' At Florence we found Lord Burghersh as Minister, a most pleasant and hospitable one. He was a fanatic for music, and composed several operas. Lord Normanby was there also, and both being fond of a theatre, Lord Burghersh had one at which we acted, and to which all the *beau monde* came. Nothing could be gayer than Florence at this time; parties and balls every night; many English girls travelling

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with their parents, and consequently a great deal of match-making. Lady Burghersh gave some very agreeable suppers. She painted with more than common talent. Of course I was constantly in the great galleries, the Uffizzi and Pitti Palaces. The picture I admired the most in all Florence was the portrait of Cardinal Bentivoglio, at the latter, by Vandyke, and that of the Fornarina the least. I cannot believe that this portrait was either Raphael's work or Raphael's mistress. Parker and I went on to Rome, which, by its first appearance, disappointed us. I found there the Cadogans, Kenmares, Lord Wriothesley Russell, Henry Fitzroy, Mrs. and Miss Villiers, a very clever girl; she afterwards married Mr. Lister, and, *en secondes noces*, Sir George Cornewall Lewis. She was sister to Lord Clarendon, our eminent Secretary for Foreign Affairs. There was a great deal of dining out, and some balls. Having just come from England, where George IV. made black satin cravats, then called 'waterfalls,' *de rigueur* at his Court, I went to M. de Chateaubriand's (the French Ambassador's) party in one of these, and was desired to change it for a white one. Other Englishmen who had done the same were very angry, and refused, believing that our King was infallible on subjects of dress, and he had declared that a man in a white neckcloth must be a dentist. There was a great deal of gambling at Rome amongst the English and other foreigners, and, as it was principally at *écarté*, a great deal of cheating. One constant player and winner was a Frenchman, who called himself Colonel Voutier, of the 'Liberating Greek Army.' He was the ugliest man I ever saw, perfectly disfigured by the small-pox, and yet with so clever and intellectual a face that he was known to have had more *bonnes fortunes* than anybody. Nor did his expression belie him, for his conversation was

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remarkable for its ease and variety. He was much patronised by the Reine Hortense and her son Louis. He won a great deal of English money, Fitzroy being a heavy sufferer. The most beautiful Italian at Rome was a Mrs. Dodwell, so famed for her charms, that a stranger, being asked why he came to Rome, answered, 'Sono venuto a. Roma per veder tre bellissime cose: San Pietro, il Vaticano, e la Signora Dodwell.'

She afterwards assisted Pope Pius IX. to escape from his enemies at Rome, by disguising him and herself as servants.

At the end of December 1828 there was a hard frost, and, hearing that good shooting was to be had, we made a party consisting of Henry Fitzroy, Lord Albert Conyngham, Montague Parker, and myself, to go to Tor Tre Ponti, a miserable inn on the road to Naples. The building was a post-house, with only one habitable room and one bed for travellers, the rest being occupied by the Pope's soldiers, half dead with ague. We had brought plenty of provisions and our couriers, and were soon encouraged to remain by the thousands of wild fowl, chiefly wild geese, which flew in and out of the marshes close over the trees of the causeway. We tossed up for the only bed for the first night, and I won the toss. After dinner we sat down to *écarté*—Parker and I against the other two, 1*l.* the game, and odds bet after the first deal. At twelve o'clock I went to bed, leaving my hand to Parker, and at dawn I found he had won 250*l.* for me. The geese began coming over the road in long strings, close to the trees, and we killed a great many at first; but it was curious to see how, after two days, they measured their distance more and more, until they were out of shot in crossing the road. We bagged above sixty in this way, and afterwards I got several by stalking them with an old

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post-horse. We also killed a great many wild duck, gadwells, and snipe by walking through the marshes. In the mountains above the road, which were covered with brushwood, woodcocks were numerous; but we had no beaters except the soldiers, who acted as gillies each on the intermittent day of his fever. One of us peppered the sergeant, who, though not hurt, was delighted to report himself in danger, and so was sent away from this pestilential post. Our couriers, who stayed at home in the house, had a touch of the ague; but we remained perfectly well for a week, which I attribute to our having been occupied and amused. We then returned to Rome. Two years after, Sir Andrew Bernard, who was discharging Lord Albert's play debts, called on me in London, and paid me the 250*l.* which I had won during my sleep. We were all too poor at the post-house to play for ready money.

One night I was at a ball given by the Austrian Ambassador, and was much struck by a lady quite unlike the Italian women who were there, as she had a profusion of auburn hair, which she wore in wavy and massive curls. Her face was handsome, with a brilliant complexion and blue eyes, and full of animation, showing splendid teeth when she laughed, which she was doing heartily at the time I remarked her. When she rose from her chair I saw she was of small stature, although with perfect shoulders, and a bust made for a much taller woman. It is generally the defect in the figures of Italian women to have legs too short in proportion to their robust frames, thus sacrificing grace to strength. I was told that this was the Countess Guiccioli, of Byronic memory, and that she was very fond of the English, and courted their acquaintance; so I was introduced to her, and was very kindly received. Byron had

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been dead only five years, and she was then twenty-six. We became great friends, and I found her a charming companion, with a cultivated mind, yet with all the natural *bonhomie* of her race, and fond of fun. She had got over her grief (which I heard was very violent at first) for the loss of her poet, and she liked to talk of him and his eccentricities, but was very proud of her conquest.

As a matter of course I went from Rome to Naples in February, 1829, and after a few days, hearing that two brigantines were to sail for Palermo, I took my passage in the one which appeared the best, and sent my courier (Picconi) [1] and the luggage on board. Just as we were getting under way, a police-boat boarded us, and arrested the captain in the King's name. As it was most probable that under the rule of King Bomba he might be detained for months or years, I ordered Picconi to take my things to the other vessel, whilst I followed. Shortly after the prisoner was released and returned, when a row, such as only an Italian can make, took place. I refused, however, to go back to his ship, and both vessels sailed that night together. After a tremendous storm, which came on next day, we eventually reached Palermo safely, with the loss of our foremast—our companion never was heard of again. Thus did Bomba save my life. Many years after I gave him a great deal of trouble in politics. Such is the kaleidoscope of our wayward and incomprehensible destinies.

Many vessels perished in this storm, which affected the whole Mediterranean. H.M. seventy-four, the 'Revenge,' lying at Naples, was forced to put to sea. In our brigantine were people of all nations—Jews, Armenians, French,

[1] Picconi had been Maître-d'armes in Napoleon's Old Guard, and took part in his nephew's expedition to Boulogne, being a devoted Bonapartist.

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Germans, Turks—and I never can forget the tumult below when we were battened down, and the foremast fell with a crash louder than the gale. The Genoese captain behaved very well, and never left the helm, to which he was lashed after he had locked up the spirit-room. The effect of fear varied in this medley of nations. Some seemed paralysed, some prayed silently and some aloud, but the Turks showed the most placid courage of all. I was afterwards amused at Picconi, my courier, who had been in the Imperial Guard, abusing a poor old woman of eighty, who was distracted, by pointing me out as likely to be drowned at twenty-two, which was a much harder fate than hers, as she had had a long life. I shall always remember my feeling of gratitude and pleasure when we were all let loose from below hatches, and rushed on deck to see the glorious Bay of Palermo under our lee, and the thunder-clouds rolling away before the morning sun. We rigged a jury foremast, and sailed into port.

Mr. Hill was our Minister at Naples when we returned, a *bon vivant* and very hospitable. I dined there nearly every day, and remained at Naples in an hotel at Santa Lucia the whole summer. I never found the heat oppressive, as exactly at 10 A.M. the sea-breeze entered my room, and the nights were delicious. Parties were made to sup by moonlight at the *trattorie*, to eat the *frutti di mare*, which include all shell-fish. The Duchesse d'Eboli, Countesses Guiccioli and Trecasi, were often my guests, with Counts Gamba and Spinola, young men.

The police of Naples were even more actively troublesome than at Milan and Rome. One day Gamba, Madame Guiccioli, and I made the ascent of Vesuvius on foot, leaving the carriage at the bottom, and in it a sword-stick of

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mine. During our absence it was discovered by one of the guides who descended the mountain, and who informed the brigadier of the gendarmes of the fact. On my reaching the town below we were all arrested. We asked to see the brigadier, but was told he was gone to bed and that we must be locked up all night. I stormed in vain for some time, till at last I convinced them I was English, and I was admitted, and found the gallant officer very drunk and in a very dirty shirt. He told us a long story of conspiracies, &c., but eventually, on giving him a napoleon, he let us depart. Such were Bomba's officials of all classes.

The sight of Vesuvius suggests curious speculations. What must have been the appearance of Europe when almost every country was vomiting its lava, many in seven or eight places at once, as in Ireland, Auvergne, the Hebrides, &c.? These, and others, all now extinct, give us some idea of the incalculable age of our planet. They had ceased to rage before any record of man exists, and probably countless ages before he appeared on earth, for they show no vestiges of man's works having been injured by any of them, as by those still active in Italy, &c.

Accompanied by the same pleasant companions, I revelled in the classical associations of Pozzuoli, the Bay of Baiæ, Pompeii, and Paestum, and thanked the gods that I had been sent to Eton, and there acquired the enjoyment of knowing their legends. On one occasion I tried to swim across the Bay of Baiæ, but did not accomplish it within a quarter of a mile, owing to the impatient appetite of my party, who were waiting at the *trattoria* at Pozzuoli, and sent a boat out to bring me in to dinner. The feat is easy for a good swimmer, but he should wear a linen jacket, or his back will be painfully blistered by the sun in that climate.

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In August I returned to Rome, and never heard of fever at that time (1829). Now (1884) it would be dangerous for a foreigner to live there at that season. Mr. Hill presented me at Court before I left Naples. A circle was formed, the royal family going round and speaking to each person, which did not last long, as there were not many present. The old King did not look like a tyrant, but rather the type of an English farmer. The Queen, and the young and handsome Princess Christina, afterwards Queen of Spain, were present. The latter was said at the time to be the cause of more than one inflammable victim languishing in prison for having too openly admired this royal coquette, whose manners with men foretold her future life after her marriage to old Ferdinand. When she came up to me in the circle, walking behind her mother, she stopped, and took hold of one of the buttons of my uniform, to see, as she said, the inscription upon it, the Queen indignantly calling to her to come on. From all I heard then, the King and royal family were not personally unpopular, and there was certainly more discontent in the Papal States than in the Neapolitan; but the revolutionists were working everywhere to upraise Italy, and the hatred of the Austrians, upon whom Bomba and the other princes of Italy were so imprudent as to depend for their power and policy, acted more against them than any local severities. Palmerston, Foreign Secretary to Lord Grey's Government, had openly encouraged the revolutionists of Spain, Portugal, and of the Italian duchies, and this had given a prestige of patriotism to men who had till then been looked upon merely as rebels. They were encouraged by his success in Portugal and in Belgium, where he had created a new kingdom, and had become the champion of all nationalities except that of Poland. The Emperor Nicholas was too 'big a brother'

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even for him to defy, although he was no respecter of persons in his dauntless and successful policy. Far more than Aretino was he 'il flagello dei principi,' and was unconsciously preparing the way to Republicanism.

I found Madame Guiccioli in great distress at having received an order from the police not to quit Rome (she was a Roman subject), all her family and she herself being conspirators. She wished to return to her father, Count Gamba, at Ravenna, then in the Pope's dominions. As I had not seen that most interesting old town, I offered to take her there in my carriage. But how were we to get out of the city, as we should be examined at the Porta del Popolo? This was accomplished by my starting at night, she walking out of the gate by day, and my taking her up a mile out of the town. Few English then ever saw Romagna, but now that the rail has invaded it, it is not the same thing as driving through its splendid oak forests and quaint old towns as I did then, by Loretto, Forli, Faenza, and Cesena. Whatever *láches* may have existed in the Papal Government, no fault could be found in the posting department, which was the best I saw anywhere. Count Gamba's house at Ravenna was near the Pinetum, a primæval pine forest, which alas! I am told, is now dying fast from the soil having been drained by the new railway works. The Gambas might have well been called the Osbaldistones of Italy; they were all sportsmen according to their knowledge, which consisted of hunting a slow pointer, who stood woodcocks and partridges equally well, through the forests and vineyards. They had just begun to hear of copper caps *vice* flints, and when I gave Vincenzo my double-barrelled Purdy his pleasure surpassed any demonstration I ever saw. They lived in feudal style as far as an abundant table supplied them and their

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guests, and were as good a type of worthy though self-educated gentlemen as it was possible to find. The house was large, with a long gallery of bedrooms, the doors of which, from the great heat of the weather, were necessarily open all night, and the inmates could converse from their beds one to another with Italian *sans façon*. There was a permanent priest whom they called Don Juan, Don being the usual title of a domestic Levite, no one but Madame Guiccioli seeing the absurdity. In reference to Byron's famous poem of that name she told me that he wrote all the last cantos on play-bills (some of which I saw myself), or on any odd piece of paper at hand, and with repeated glasses of gin-punch by his side. He then used to rush out of his room to read to her what he had written, making many alterations, and laughing immoderately. She was very proud and fond of him, but described him as having a very capricious temper, and with nothing of the passion which pervades his poetry, and which he was in the habit of ridiculing—in fact, with a cold temperament. With all his abuse of England, he insisted on keeping up old customs in small things, such as having hot cross buns on Good Friday and roast goose on Michaelmas Day. This last fancy led to a grotesque result. After buying a goose and fearing it might be too lean, he fed it every day for a month previously, so that the poet and the bird became so mutually attached that when September 29 arrived he could not kill it, but bought another, and had the pet goose swung in a cage under his carriage when he travelled, so that after four years he was moving about with four geese. It was surprising to see the number of letters written to him by women offering themselves to him on any terms. Madame Guiccioli had a large box full of these epistles, which he never answered. They were

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mostly from English ladies, such was the folly and enthusiasm which his verses inspired at the time.

When Byron departed for Greece, Madame Guiccioli went to Ravenna. She described to me her anxiety as terrible, and when his letters no longer came, she accused him of having forgotten her. Poor woman! he was gone to that land 'where all things are forgotten.'

She introduced me at Rome to the Duchesse de St. Leu (Queen Hortense), who invited me to her evening parties and some picnics, and was a most fascinating woman, although past the middle of life. Her house, though very aristocratic, was the resort of all the Intransigeants of both sexes in politics. Princess Belgioso led the female conspirators, and they were so little feared that, as long as they remained in the Pope's domains and could be watched, they were not molested.

Here for the first time I met Hortense's son, Louis Napoleon, then just of age. Nor would anybody at that time have predicted his great and romantic career. He was a wild harum-scarum youth, or what the French call *un crâne*, riding at full gallop down the streets to the peril of the public, fencing, and pistol-shooting, and apparently without serious thoughts of any kind, although even then he was possessed with the conviction that he would some day rule over France. We became friends, but at that time he evinced no remarkable talent or any fixed idea but the one I mention. It grew upon him with his growth, and increased daily until it ripened into a certainty. He was a very good horseman and proficient at athletic games, being short, but very active and muscular. His face was grave and dark, but redeemed by a singularly bright smile. Such was his personal appearance in 1829, at twenty-one years of age.

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He used to have several old officers of his uncle, the Emperor, about him, men who seemed to me to be ready for any adventure. I recollect one, an old cavalry colonel of dragoons who had seen the whole Peninsular war, relating the following anecdote. One day he was reconnoitring with three or four troopers, when they came suddenly upon a young English officer mounted on a superb thoroughbred horse and similarly occupied. Summoned by the colonel to surrender, he quietly cantered away, laughing in the Frenchman's face. The dragoon pursued at full gallop of his heavy steed, and when the Englishman had allowed him to get quite close he kissed his hand, and, leaving him far behind, shouted, pointing to his horse, 'Cheval Normand, Monsieur!' Again the Frenchman pursued, threatening to shoot his enemy if he did not surrender, and pointed his pistol at him, but the weapon missed fire. With a roar of laughter the young officer again shouted, 'Fabrique de Versailles, Monsieur!' and giving the thoroughbred his head, was seen no more. It was most amusing to hear the old colonel tell this story and describe his rage, adding, however, that he had always felt glad that he had not shot *ce brave farceur*.

It was in August 1829 that I took leave of the Gambas in Romagna and of their sister, Madame Guiccioli. She came to England a few years afterwards, and was one of the many foreign ladies who were at Lady Blessington's parties. Subsequently she married le Marquis de Boissy, an eccentric man with a large fortune and a fine house at Paris, where I dined at a magnificent banquet, the contrast being very striking after the frugal existence which in former years she led in Italy. The change was great between the old quiet lodging with a solitary maidservant and the sumptuous establishment of the Marquis. I found the *bonhomie*

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of the Italian altered for the artificial manner of a *grande dame*, and not to its advantage, although she retained the kindly instincts of her nature. She survived her husband, who was an *Anglophobe*, and died in 1879 at Florence, where she had been living on a large jointure.

I posted to England night and day by a most desolate road, and it took me sixty-eight hours to reach Paris, where I stayed a day to rest, and crossed the Channel on September 7, 1829.

After a short visit to my father at Heron Court, I was invited to Chillingham Castle, and during my stay there engaged myself to the only daughter of the Tankervilles, Lady Emma, whom I married on April 13 the following spring, and who for forty-eight years unceasingly deserved the epitaph which is written on her monument in the Priory Church at Christchurch:—

> From her it never was our fate to find
> A deed ungentle or a word unkind:
> The mildest manners with the bravest mind.
>
> ILIAD.

In 1827, Mr. Canning's death, that of King George IV., and the Duke of Wellington's difficulties after he had emancipated the Roman Catholics, all prepared the country to see the fall of the Tory Government. The Tories had ruled England almost without interruption for thirty years, and in the most critical time of our history their statesmen, generals, and admirals, had weathered the hurricane when all Europe had despaired, and in 1815 brought the great ship to a safe anchorage, although shaken and damaged in all but honour. It seemed almost natural that a new set of men should repair the *lâches* of a long war and

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attempt to remedy grievances which could not be attended to during war. There was a general sentiment that new men, with new ideas of domestic policy, were required, and that the reform of the franchise was the most pressing subject. The old Whig leaders pitched upon it as their first point of attack, and in the summer of 1830 their combinations were made. My father-in-law, Lord Tankerville, was an old Whig, and a friend of Lord Grey, and he took me on a visit to Howick, where the old Earl lived in patriarchal retirement amidst his numerous sons, daughters, and sons-in-law. Two of the latter, Lord Durham and Mr. Ellice (commonly called 'Bear Ellice'), both clever and ambitious men, had great influence with Lord Grey, and used it without mercy. He was one of the most striking figures I ever saw, the very type of a *grand seigneur* and of an intellectual man. Whilst I was at Howick I was struck with two peculiarities of the family, one of which was that all the sons and daughters called their parents by their Christian names, 'Charles' and 'Mary,' which had a strange effect; the other was the taste of the whole family for argument. They were always in a state of discussion, even as to the distance between Howick and Alnwick, and the shortest road to and from each, which one would suppose they had verified long ago. Lady Georgiana was very agreeable, and played beautifully on the harp, an instrument then much appreciated. As I suppose I was looked upon as a mere boy by the party, politics and future onslaughts on the Tory Government were freely spoken of without *gêne* in my presence; and I remember one day Lord Grey breaking out and declaring that the three greatest rascals in the world were Lord Castlereagh (then dead), Brougham, and Talleyrand, and I recollect this explosion the more, because when

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he formed his Government three months later[1] he was obliged to make Brougham his Chancellor, and to receive Talleyrand as the Ambassador of France.

Ellice and Lord Durham were often at Chillingham at this time, and their talk, of course, was chiefly as to the coming change and of the rearrangement of the boroughs and franchise, their great object being to 'cook' them (as they themselves called it), so as to expel as much as possible all local interests belonging to Tories.

The battle for and against Reform proceeded with the greatest acrimony on both sides, both in and out of Parliament. In the House of Lords I myself heard Lord Carnarvon, a man of great weight in public opinion, and who was a Whig, apostrophise Lord Grey, and declare that 'to propose so revolutionary a measure he must have a fool's head on his shoulders or a traitor's heart in his bosom.' Out of Parliament the following history will speak for itself.

When the Reform Bill was thrown out by the Peers in 1831, Lord Tankerville voted against it. My wife and I accompanied him on his journey to Chillingham, which at that time took four days to accomplish, being three hundred and thirty miles, although posting with four horses. When we got to Darlington, we halted for luncheon, and perceived a large crowd at the door of the hotel examining the crest on the panels and apparently quiet, but we were hardly re-seated in the family coach when a storm of stones assailed it and a furious mob tried to stop us. The post-boys behaved well and ran the gauntlet at full gallop till we cleared the town, but in what a condition! The coach was full of stones of all sizes, the front part of it was smashed and the panels

[1] The Duke of Wellington resigned in November 1830, and Lord Grey succeeded him as Premier.

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stove in, yet we all escaped with a few scratches. When I saw what was coming, I pulled my wife under the seat, which saved her from a large paving-stone that struck the place where she had been sitting. When some miles from Darlington, we stopped at a village inn till dark, as our battered condition would have invited another pelting, out of mere mischief. This outrage was committed deliberately and with preparation for the first Peer who passed Darlington after having voted against the Reform Bill. The stones stood in heaps ready, piled like ammunition, and the victims were to be thrown into the river. The feelings of these ferocious politicians may be imagined, as the presence of two women, my wife and her maid, in our carriage did not prevent their murderous attempt. This was but one of many similar acts of violence all over England and Scotland connected with the progress of the Reform Bill.

The local authorities in no way interfered to prevent them, and in our case they and the Lord Lieutenant even refused Lord Tankerville to identify and punish our assailants. During the Parliamentary struggle for this Reform Bill, the most strange delusions as to its results seized the lower classes, who were convinced that it could do no less than alter their whole condition. Servants left their places, feeling sure that somehow they need never serve again. Marriages were put off until the great redemption of the poor from poverty was effected, and orators were not wanting to foster these follies. In short, whilst the contention lasted the country was in a delirium. The years 1830, 1831, and 1832 will be remembered as the most agitated of the century. Discontent and disease pervaded Europe in the shape of revolution and cholera. In France, Charles X. had been exiled, and the throne occupied by his cousin. The Duc de

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Guiche accompanied the King to Edinburgh, with all his family, he being Lady Tankerville's brother. He brought with him his boy, who became afterwards Duc de Gramont, and in 1870 was Foreign Minister to Louis Napoleon, when he declared his fatal war with Germany.

In Paris the cholera was raging during 1831–2. In London it was less virulent, but numbers died, and I did not escape it, but recovered after being dosed with spirits of wine, which was the only thing that relieved the spasms. It was Dr. Quin's remedy, and his patients used, like myself, to carry a small bottle always with them. The Court physician, Sir Henry Halford, was at first very shy of attending cholera cases, until Brougham launched at him one of his diatribes, which was as terrible as the disease. Twenty-five thousand had died in Paris.

In the winter of 1830 there were serious agrarian riots all over the South and West of England. My two brothers and I were sent for one night from Heron Court by the Ringwood magistrates, urging us to collect what force we could, and to repair there to stop the advance of a large mob marching from Salisbury, and burning the corn-ricks of the farms on their way. Their object was to destroy the thrashing-machines, but they went further and set fire to all kinds of property. They were led by a man on horseback, who called himself Lord Hunt, and had marched through all Sussex. When we were summoned they had attacked the house at West Park, near Fordingbridge, where there was a party of visitors, who, with the gamekeeper, Woodroe, defended themselves, and fired a volley wounding several of the assailants, some of whom died. The mob then retreated. My brothers and I hastened to Ringwood and joined Mr. Compton and Mr. Mills. The next day our army of mounted

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farmers, gentlemen, servants, and many tradesmen, met the rioters just beyond Fordingbridge, charged and routed them. Hunt and three others were taken and hanged at Winchester. Some were found dead in West Park Woods, and I never heard that any inquest was held over them. At that time there was no cavalry nearer than Dorchester, forty miles off, and no infantry nearer than Portsmouth, the same distance—no railway to bring either, and no electric telegraphs. The rebellion—for such it was—was put down by the landed proprietors, their tenants, and the respectable shopkeepers at Christchurch, Ringwood, and Lyndhurst. A most medley and grotesque force they were, everyone arming himself with the first weapon he could find. Lord Melbourne was Home Secretary, just appointed with Lord Grey's Government, and he wrote the magistrates a letter of full approbation of their conduct and courage. In Berkshire the rebels were beaten in the same way by Lord Craven and his friends. The Duke of Wellington, who was our Lord-Lieutenant, took great pains in establishing and fitting out a regiment of five troops of yeomanry, recruited from the New Forest and its neighbourhood. I commanded one of these for five years, when, just as they had become trained and available, Lord Howick, then Secretary for War, disbanded them, he and his colleagues disliking the accidental fact that all the officers and most of the men were Tories and voters for the county.

It was in 1834 that I made the acquaintance of Lord Derby, then Lord Stanley, which ripened into a mutual and sincere friendship, lasting till his death in 1869. When the great disruption of the Tory party under Sir Robert Peel took place in 1846, I for the first time took a strong part in politics—not for any liking of that stormy life, which

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I had always shunned—but from a sincere conviction that the abolition of the Corn Laws, proposed by Peel, would be the ruin of all who depended directly or indirectly upon land. The gallant Duke of Richmond,[1] Lord George Bentinck, and I, were among the first to rally our partisans in and out of Parliament by all the means which political hostility allows. Disraeli then came forward in all his strength, and displayed his genius by some of the most remarkable speeches ever heard in Parliament. We succeeded in obtaining the invaluable support of Lord Stanley's[2] prestige and eloquence, though at first he naturally hesitated to break with his colleagues. In February 1852 he became Prime Minister, and appointed me to the Foreign Office. I had published in 1844 the 'Diplomatic Journal and Correspondence' of my grandfather, the first Lord Malmesbury, and the experience I gained by reading and collating, with great trouble, the contents of above two thousand letters and despatches from and to him by all the important personages of the period from 1768 to 1800 stood me in good stead at this trying time. Without this accidental education I should have been as great a novice in political business as were most of my colleagues. My former personal relations with Louis Napoleon were also a lucky accident, and placed us on a footing which saved much trouble and anxiety to both of us when he proclaimed the Empire in 1852. At the end of that year we were turned out of office, to which we were recalled in 1858, I having again the Foreign Office. In 1859, after a tenure of fifteen months and a general election, we were beaten on a false issue, which is explained in my diary of that year.

[1] The late Duke.

[2] Afterwards fourteenth Earl of Derby and Prime Minister.

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From 1834 to 1869 I used to pay an annual visit to Knowsley, where the late Lord Derby had brought *battue* shooting to perfection. We used to go out six or seven guns, each one having a loader and marker, the latter pricking down each shot killed by his master; and it was very remarkable at the end of the day, when the total killed were counted up, how very accurately each gun found his calculation verified. What was extremely striking was the large and peaceful crowd that accompanied us for beating in line. I have seen two and three hundred of these volunteer beaters, working men and artisans, pour out of the villages near to see the sport, keeping the most perfect line and order; and the custom was so known and valued by them, that if by chance any individual was not steady and disciplined, his comrades sent him home at once, without any trouble to us.

Such was the respect and goodwill which Lord Derby inspired by his character and genial manner. He himself was the keenest sportsman I ever met; whilst he was in the field his whole attention was in his present pursuit, and woe to him who attempted to divert him to politics at the time. When over, he could divest his mind completely of the sport and sit down at once to write the longest and most important paper straight off, in a delicate hand and without a single erasure—so completely could he in a few moments arrange his subject in his mind. I have often witnessed this intellectual *tour de force* both in and out of the Cabinet. He died on October 23, 1869, in his seventieth year, completely worn out by constant attacks of acute gout, and, although at my age I inevitably miss most of my early friends, I have never so deeply felt the loss of any one of them as I did that of this noble character. When he became

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Prime Minister for the third time in 1866, he made me Privy Seal, after offering me again the Foreign Office, which my bad health obliged me to refuse, and I held the Privy Seal under Disraeli again in 1868 and 1874, until 1876, when I resigned my place, being rendered useless from deafness either in Cabinet or House of Lords.

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DIARY.

1832

On February 23, 1832, Lady Fitzharris and I started for a tour abroad, and here I will quote from my journal to show what travelling was fifty years ago for a married couple who wished to visit France and Italy, taking a courier who was bound to ride post and order horses for a *britshka* and a *fourgon*.

February 23rd.—Left Dover in a steamer; only three passengers beside ourselves. Fine when we started, but fog came on with hard, black frost, and Captain Bushill, neglecting to sound, ran us aground five miles west of Calais. We were within a stone's throw of the shore, but not allowed to land on account of quarantine for cholera. Cold intense, twenty degrees, and no possibility of a fire. The Coastguard watched us all night to prevent our landing, as the vessel was high and dry at low water, and also to assist in case of danger.

February 24th.—Entered Calais harbour; *Commission sanitaire* inspected us. On asking a member of it how soon we were to be released, he replied, 'Mêlez-vous de vos affaires! Ven I come I come.'

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February 26th.—Hard frost and fog. Released at 8 A.M. Breakfasted at Dessins Hotel. Slept at Montreuil, where the snipe pies and dinner are excellent.

February 27th.—Reached Grandvilliers.

February 28th.—Arrived at Paris at 7 P.M., after travelling all day.

February 29th.—Took best rooms at Hôtel Bristol for only twenty francs a day. Such is the effect of the Revolution and cholera on the first hotel at Paris.

March 4th.—Paris. Went to the Opéra and saw 'Robert le Diable.' Singing and dancing far superior to that in our theatres. Nourrit a splendid tenor.

March 6th.—Vaudeville Theatre, where 'Le Régent' was acted. The most barefaced allusions in favour of the Court were received in silence. Trade ruined and much dissatisfaction. Duke of Orleans accused of flirting instead of occupying himself with politics. A very handsome and amiable man. Duc de Nemours not in the army.

March 7th.—Dined with the Walewskis. He the son of Napoleon, and very like him. She a daughter of Lord Sandwich. Met the Flahaults and Lord Harry Vane. Gay party. Young Count Candia was there and sang splendidly.[1]

March 9th.—Breakfasted with the old Duc de Gramont,

[1] Afterwards famous as Mario.

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my wife's grandfather, who has been a 'Garde du Corps' of Louis XV. and was on duty at Versailles on the day on which he arrested the Cardinal de Rohan, whose history is well known in connection with Marie Antoinette and the famous diamond necklace. He told us many anecdotes of Louis XV., and gave us a dish which he said the King had every day of his life on his table, and which he seldom omitted to eat. It was of chicken or pheasant *écharpé*, with a *Béchamel* sauce, with truffles or *chicorée* and *gratiné*. I got the receipt from the Duke's cook and have found it very popular. The Duc said that 'La Du Barry était peinte comme mon carrosse.' We afterwards drove with him to Versailles, and I never spent a more interesting day, walking over this famous palace with this old man, who had known it in all its former glories. It was like listening to one from the dead to hear his anecdotes and legends about events in which he had acted a part. Although eighty-two years of age, his memory was perfectly good, and he was as gay as a man in the prime of life. He showed us the room in which he had arrested the Cardinal, and amongst other places the immense flight of stone steps down which, when the palace was invested by the bloodthirsty mob in 1792, he and his guards had to ride to save their lives. Three men were killed when their horses fell and rolled to the bottom, the rest escaping by this desperate feat. The mob had stopped every other issue, and thought this one impassable. The old Duke had a Basque servant, who looked upon his master with feudal adoration. He was called Ivrygoyen, and used to join in the conversation from behind the Duke's chair. His fine castle, Bidache, near Bayonne, was burnt in 1793 by the Bande Noire, and has not been restored. This ancient family were once sovereign princes, coined money

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on their Basque territory, and supplied Henri Quatre with it and troops through Corisande de Gramont.

At this moment the prices of dress are very moderate in Paris. A velvet gown requiring eight yards costs only 10*l.*, and ladies' silk or satin shoes by the best maker only six francs a pair, the effect of the Revolution.

March 15*th.*—Left Paris, our *fourgon* being well stocked by the old Duke, according to ancient fashion, with various eatables and a proportionate variety of wines.

March 19*th.*—Reached Lyons, after sleeping at Avallon, Châlons, and Mâcon. The mountains of Auvergne covered with snow and weather bitter. Spent twenty-two francs a day in firewood. The Lyonese very Carlist. In 1789 they were the most savage Republicans.

March 21*st.*—We hired a boat for 400 francs to take us and our carriages to Avignon, and stopped at Condrieu. The whole country on both banks of the Rhône is beautiful even at this time of year; with its hills, vineyards, and castles, it is far superior to the Rhine. At Condrieu the wine is celebrated and deserves its reputation. It is a white hermitage, and costs thirty sous a bottle. Fifteen thousand bottles of this wine are made annually from the vineyard on the hill.

March 22*nd.*—This journey by water is the only way to see the valley of the Rhône. We passed Tain and Valence, opposite which is the ruined castle of Crusol, like an eagle's nest, from which the view of the great river is splendid. Here you see the Alps for the first time, looking like an

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impassable barrier. We slept at Bourg St. Andeol, a wretched tavern for bargemen, where I kept my pistols under my pillow by the advice of my courier, who said it was a notorious den of brigands; but our boatmen refused to go farther. The people stared at us like savages. The whole country and roads were full of refugee Polish soldiers, escaping after their defeats into France, and wherever they passed not an orange or a drop of brandy was left. They appeared to live entirely on these two articles of food, and to fall on them like locusts.

March 23rd.—Shot through the bridge of St. Esprit, built by the Romans, and having twenty-two arches. The current is so rapid and the arches so narrow that the boatmen dare not go through them at night. Arrived at Avignon, at l'Hôtel de l'Europe, after three days' enjoyment of the grandest scenery, without the slightest fatigue. What a difference from the same journey, cramped in a carriage, and only half seeing one bank of this glorious river! The view from the castle, which the Popes once occupied here, is at sunset one of the finest spectacles it is possible to behold.

March 24th.—We hired a carriage to go to Vaucluse, quite equal in beauty and curiosity to our expectations, and to its rich traditions. The last, however, did not interfere with a luncheon of trout and crayfish at the inn kept by the infamous Fouché's famous cook. Our return to Avignon very disagreeable in an open carriage, with a furious *mistral*, which had risen suddenly since the morning. The dust penetrated even into my writing-desk. Bill at the Hôtel de l'Europe at Avignon only 110 francs for three days.

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March 26th.—Arrived at Aix, in Provence, an old town seldom visited by English; once the capital of King René, the musical ruler of the land of Troubadours. The cathedral is built upon a Temple of Diana, the pillars of which remain, two of granite, and the rest of Egyptian marble. The water of the famous baths is 24° of Réaumur, and yet gold-fish will live in it.

March 30th.—Stopped at Toulon. Had a letter to the general to admit us into the dockyard. They were very proud of the frigate 'Proserpine,' taken from the English. The number of convicts at Toulon is 4,000. They work from sunrise to sunset, with the exception of two hours in the middle of the day. Beautiful carvings are made by a man of the name of Miron, who stole Mademoiselle Mars' jewels, and who is condemned *aux travaux forcés* for twenty years.

March 31st.—Reached Cannes over the Estrelle mountains. Slept at the Hôtel de la Poste, close to the sea, one of the worst inns I ever was in.

April 1st.—Left this miserable hole and arrived at Nice. Detained long at the Douane on the Italian frontier. The Douaniers pay no attention to articles of dress, but are exceedingly strict in the examination of books. The man who searched us, not understanding a word of English, took Lord Byron's poems for a dictionary and confiscated them. This excessive surveillance is since the Revolution in Paris. Excellent hotel at Nice, but a bitter north wind prevails.

April 4th.—Reached Genoa by the Corniche Road, newly made and very dangerous in many parts, with sharp

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turns and no parapets; was a nervous journey, although very beautiful. We had slept at St. Remo, a miserable village.[1]

Having written thus much to show what travelling was fifty years ago, and quoted my diary textually so far, I shall now only use it as reminding me of events in which I took part more or less.

From Nice we went to Genoa, and, after visiting all the palaces there, we proceeded to Spezzia by Chiavari; thence to Carrara, where the marble works were wonderfully cheap. I bought a handsome chimney-piece of the whitest marble, with bas-reliefs from the Vaso Borghese, for 20*l*. Proceeding to Lucca, we were told that we required an escort of gendarmes, as travellers had been lately robbed passing the mountain. We took two mounted guards with us, who would have been of little use if the brigands (said to be twenty-seven in number) had attacked us. The country from Lucca to Florence is hideous and the weather was Siberian. We met many people we knew at Florence—among them Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand St. John. I had known him in 1829 at Naples, a very handsome and clever man. At that time he fought a duel with Count Coteroffiano, who was the best shot and swordsman in the country. When they met it was agreed they should stand at forty yards apart, and, at a signal given by the seconds, they might advance or not as they pleased, and fire when they liked. Both stood still, and St. John fired first, apparently without the least effect. Coteroffiano then advanced, and St. John thought himself lost, when his adversary walked half way and fell stone dead, having received the bullet

[1] Now a fashionable resort on the Riviera.

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without wincing, and intending to kill St. John *à bout portant.*

When we came to Florence, St. John had lately married Miss Keating, an heiress, and one of his amusing stories was that his wife being *enceinte*, and he being very poor, he asked his relation, Lord Wenlock, to promise to purchase a commission in the Guards for his son, if she had one. The old peer refusing his request, St. John asked him whether he would do so in the event of her having twin boys, to which Lord Wenlock acceded, when in due time Mrs. St. John won the event.

There was at that time at Florence a Scotch banker of the name of Lawrie, who had a very good gallery of pictures. He had married a most beautiful girl of poor parents in Florence, having taken her as a child and educated her for his wife. We made her acquaintance, and found her a very pleasant and ladylike person.

After spending a month at Florence we went with my brother to Geneva. One evening we took a sailing boat and went upon the lake. The halyard slipped out of the block, and my brother's swarming up the mast capsized the boat. Lady Fitzharris, with the most wonderful coolness, turned to me, both of us being in the water, saying, 'Don't be afraid; I won't lay hold of you, but tell me what to do.' My brother, who had got entangled under the sail, came up, and by putting her hands on our shoulders we kept her up for a quarter of an hour, till a watchmaker, who was rowing his wife, took her in, whilst we hung on to the stern till we reached the shore, which was a quarter of a mile off. Nothing but my wife's cool courage saved us, as, if she had been frightened, we should have been drowned by her struggles. A week afterwards the watchmaker came to ask

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for what he called 'damages.' I thought he alluded to damages to his boat or loss of time, but it was to his wife, who, in consequence of her alarm at the accident, had miscarried, and, as he insisted, deprived him of a son and heir. As he could not prove this, or show how he was the worse, or give any items in a bill, and as I had paid him salvage, I resisted this new specimen of Swiss avarice. We returned to London in July, 1833.

This was the first year that the Highlands became the rage, and that deer forests were made and rented, but for prices not exceeding 300*l.* a year. Sir Harry Goodrich, who was a leader among the young hunting men, hired Mar Forest, and Lord Kinnaird, Fealar in Athol. We paid the latter a visit, in August, at Rossie Priory, and I went with him, Mr. Errington, and Count Matuchewicz (the Russian Ambassador), to a bothy at Fealar. The Russian (in reality a Pole) was a very able man, and a great favourite with *la jeunesse dorée* at Melton, where Sir H. Goodrick kept the hounds, followed by Lords Wilton, Gardner, Macdonald, Kinnaird, and Mr. Gilmour, all first-rate riders, who had the best horses in England, and kept open houses, as I know from having enjoyed their hospitality. The hunting was not what it is now that it has become racing. At Rossie Priory, in the Carse of Gowrie, Kinnaird lived in great luxury; his two handsome sisters did the honours admirably to a mixed party, the eldest of whom was twenty-six. Mrs. Norton was there in the zenith of her beauty, and added much to the *entrain*. I went later to the Isle of Skye and to Harris. I was harboured at the latter by Mr. Stewart, a gentleman farmer and breeder of cattle, and had the run of the island, which belonged then to MacLeod, and the grouse, deer forest, and fishing, all of which are first-rate, were offered

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to me for 25*l.* a year. It has been purchased since by Lord Dunmore, and the sporting right let for 2,000*l.* a year. At that time (1833), a stranger could fish and shoot over almost any part of the Highlands without interruption, the letting value of the *ferœ naturœ* being unknown to their possessors. Chillingham Castle being on the posting road north, a great many visitors stopped there on their way south in the autumn. Landseer was a constant one, and this year painted for me a portrait of Lady Fitzharris[1] in a cloak, standing on the ramparts of the castle; but such were his dilatory habits about his pictures, that I only received it from his executors forty-four years after. It is at Heron Court, and has been engraved. He painted another of her the following year, lying on a sofa with a deerhound looking out of window, and a spaniel in her lap. The former is the portrait of a dog who saved the keeper's life under the following circumstances, as recorded in my diary.

1833

November 9.—A large party at Chillingham; Mr. Landseer, Charles Mathews, Lord Macdonald, Lord Ossulston, and Mr. Gilmour, settled to kill one of the wild bulls the next day. Cole, the park-keeper, came to the castle early this morning to say that a bull had been driven out of the herd, and that he was extremely savage. He advised the gentlemen to be very careful how they approached him. Nobody, however, seemed inclined to listen to him, and Mr. Gilmour

[1] This picture cost 80*l.* In 1884 his 'Monarch of the Forest' fetched 6,000*l.* at Christie's.

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and Lord Macdonald went to put on their red coats to irritate him. The bull was near a little oak wood, where Cole had left his son and Barnes, the under-keeper, to watch him. After he had received his orders for the *chasse*, he returned to his post, and the gentlemen began their preparations in great spirits at the prospect of the fun. All at once we saw Cole running back to the castle as fast as he could. He rushed up to the windows pale and breathless, and exclaimed with a voice of horror, 'Barnes is killed by the bull!'—and then left us without further explanation. We were all too much shocked to be able to utter a word, and remained looking at each other; but went out after a time and saw a crowd running across the park towards a cart which was conveying Barnes to his house. Ossulston accompanied it to the village, and sent a man on horseback for the doctor. As he could not possibly arrive under an hour, Cole bled the poor man, who was not dead as was at first supposed, though severely hurt, several ribs being broken, with a deep wound in the thigh. The accident happened thus: When Cole came to the castle for orders, he left his son and Barnes to watch the bull and prevent his breaking away to join the herd, which he had several times tried to do. The two men were in the oak wood, and Barnes seeing the bull approach the fence came out to frighten him away. The beast instantly rushed at him; he turned to run away, but his foot slipped and he fell. In one moment the bull overtook him and tossed him clean over his head. Young Cole could do very little, for, though he had his rifle, he had no means of loading it, and the other spectators were also unarmed, and too much frightened to be of any use. Young Cole, however, did as much as possible under these circumstances, coming out several times towards the bull and

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trying to entice him to run at him, but in vain. The bull tossed Barnes five times over his head, then lifted him with his horns, placed him across his knees, and threw himself down with his whole weight upon the man, whom he trampled upon and gored for full ten minutes. The bloodhound refused to go in; but at last Ossulston's deerhound, Bran, fastened upon the bull's hocks and worried him so that he left his victim. The cart arrived fortunately just at that moment, and they succeeded in getting poor Barnes into it. Had it not been for the dog, nothing could have saved his life.

The gentlemen went out to kill the bull, and fired several shots at him before he dropped. He had six balls in his head, and even then was not dead, and made an effort to get up again. Then Cole and several others threw themselves upon him and held him down whilst he was stabbed in the throat. Mr. Landseer made a beautiful sketch of him after his death, and Lord Tankerville ordered a picture to be painted of Ossulston and the animal. It is now at Chillingham Castle. Barnes eventually recovered.

1834

October 24th.—Chillingham. Lord Durham and Lady Fanny Lambton came to-day on their way to Glasgow. Lord Durham seems very much out of spirits; he confesses that he is very nervous about the Glasgow dinner, which he regrets now having accepted. All his friends blame him for having done so, as they say it will commit him. He says

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he intends to make an attack upon Lord Brougham, but is afraid he will not be able to keep his head and command his temper sufficiently to do it with effect.

November 2nd.—Left Chillingham, and reached Alnwick by a new road. Were kindly received by the Duchess. The Duke is very infirm. After dinner we adjourned to the library, where the ladies established themselves, according to the rule and custom of the house, in a row on one side of the room.

November 16th.—Left Stocken Hall, Sir Gilbert Heathcote's place, and arrived in London. We heard at Wandsford that the Whigs are out of office, the King having dismissed his Government, and that the Duke of Wellington is sent for. As soon as I arrived, I sent a message to Norman Macdonald, who confirmed the news. The Duke having advised the King to send for Sir Robert Peel, who is in Italy, he cannot get an answer under three weeks. The Duke of Wellington says he will answer for keeping the country quiet. He walked into the Foreign Office to-day, about an hour after he had been appointed, to the great discomfiture of Norman Macdonald and other secretaries of Lord Duncannon.

November 28th.—I went to Manor House, Mr. Compton's place, to accompany him to a Conservative meeting at Southampton. The meeting was ill-attended—not above two hundred present, and some of these Radicals. The Tories, as usual, mismanaged the business, and never took any pains to assemble people of rank and influence. They voted Mr. Sloane Stanley in the chair, and, whilst he slept,

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made a number of foolish speeches, which, considering they only met for the purpose of addressing the King on his prerogative, was a useless thing to do. When the meeting was over, Lord Normanton, Mr. Andrew Drummond, and a few more, got Mr. Compton into a private room and succeeded in persuading him to stand for the southern division of the county. Having a large family, he was at first disinclined to do so, but Lord Normanton and Mr. Drummond having offered to guarantee him free of expense, he could no longer refuse, and the business was settled. Messrs. Compton and Fleming stand against Lord Palmerston and Sir George Staunton.

December 10th.—There is no news yet respecting the new Ministry, but some reports. It is hoped that if Lord Stanley does not join Sir Robert Peel he will give his support to his Government. Lord Ossulston is opposed in Northumberland by Lord Grey and Mr. Liddell, son of Lord Ravensworth, and, I much fear, will be defeated in consequence; but the Duke of Northumberland has promised him all his interest until he sees him safe. I have received a strong requisition to stand for the Isle of Wight, but my father has taken such a decided line against my coming into Parliament that, although I consented at first, I found it impossible to risk a serious quarrel, and had to renounce all hope of being in the House of Commons. I might, at this time, have walked over for Christchurch.

I paid a visit to Mr. Compton in the New Forest. The party consisted of Lord Alvanley, Col. Damer, Mr. and Lady Gertrude Stanley, Sir Henry Fane, and Mr. Irby. Lord Alvanley was as amusing as usual, and told some good stories. One which he related was of the late Sir Watkin Wynn. He

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was playing at whist with Lords Granville, Sefton, and another famous player—all playing very deep. It was Sir Watkin's turn to deal, and whilst he did so, Lord Granville turned round to speak to someone behind him. This deal was to decide the rubber, upon which several hundreds were staked. The whole party were, therefore, in anxious expectation of the result. One may, therefore, better conceive than describe the surprise and dismay of Lord Granville when, upon his turning to take up his hand, he found none. At the same time his partner, Sir Watkin, said, 'I think I have rather too many cards.' He had dealt himself *two* hands, and had 26 cards instead of 13! The confusion was indescribable at this discovery; all the best whist-players were consulted, but they could come to no decision. Hoyle had never thought it possible.

1835

January 9th.—Went to shoot at Somerley, where I was strongly attacked for not standing for the Isle of Wight, and obliged to explain my reasons for not doing so.

January 16th.—Drove to Ringwood, and met Lord Palmerston's mob at the end of the town, and we were, of course, hooted by them. Norman Macdonald, to our delight, was covered with mud by his own friends. He went about Ringwood all day with the Whig attorney in order to retrieve his character, which he considered damaged by having been seen with us.

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January 17th.—The election was decided in favour of Fleming and Compton.

February 13th.—Left Heron Court for Mr. Fleming's place, Stoneham. Dinner had been ordered at six o'clock, but did not take place till eight, when Mr. Fleming returned home, and we did not sit down till half-past. We were equally unpunctual for the ball at Southampton. Lady Dundonald was there, covered with diamonds, which her husband, I conclude, had won in South America during his adventurous career.

February 18th.—We left for London.

February 19th.—Mrs. Norton and Mrs. Blackwood are looking wonderfully handsome this year. I pointed them out to Madame Sebastiani, who was in great admiration of their beauty.

February 22nd.—Dined with the Duke of Devonshire, and met Lady Granville, Lady Burlington, Lord Elphinstone, William Cowper. He has offered Lady Fitzharris his boxes at the Opera and both theatres whenever she likes to ask for them.

February 23rd.—Left London for Brighton with Miss Kinnaird. Although it is but fifty-one miles, the stages are long and killing.

February 24th.—Brighton. The Effinghams, Gallweys, and Beauclercs are here; Colonel Lyster and Francis Mills; so we have a very pleasant knot of acquaintances. We

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shall stay here for three months, as I do not expect that London will be agreeable this year. Politics absorb everybody's thoughts, and party feeling is stronger than ever. The Government expect to be beaten to-night on the Irish Church, and, if they are, it is impossible to say what may happen. They cannot coalesce with the Tories, and are sure to do so with the Radicals. Lord John Russell has evidently joined O'Connell, for the latter dined at a public dinner to Lord John the other day, and flattered him in the most fulsome manner. It is said Peel does not intend to dissolve if beaten, but resign at once, in which case Lord Grey is to form an Administration. It is said that the King is quite firm, and will not hear of Whig government, but that, if he is forced to it, he will abdicate and go to Hanover. Who could have supposed five years ago that matters would arrive at such a pass, that such an idea could suggest itself to a King of England?

March 31*st.*—The debate upon the Irish tithes began yesterday, and Lord John Russell proposed a resolution, of which he had given notice, to consider the present state of the Church Establishment in Ireland, with a view of applying any surplus of its revenue not required for the general purposes of the Church to the moral and religious instruction of the people.

April 2*nd.*—Nothing is yet known about the dissolution. Lord Grey says that the present Government would lose 110 votes by it, but that is evidently wrong. Poulett Thompson says thirty. The general opinion, however, is that Government would gain, but not sufficiently to justify the measure. Lord John Russell's speech is thought to be a

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bad one, and his proposition to send up the Address straight to the King, supposing the House passed it, without consulting the Lords was very coldly received. Peel is harassed and disgusted, as well he may be, and, it is thought, will resign on the first favourable occasion, in which case the King would send for Lord Melbourne, Lord Grey, or Lord Stanley. Poulett Thompson says that all the Opposition would vote against the latter. The debate has been again adjourned. The only good speech last night was Lord Stanley's; it was very clever, but not at all conciliatory. He attacked the whole Opposition *en masse*, calling them 'a miscellaneous multitude,' and cut them up in the cleverest and bitterest manner. From the whole tenor of his speech, I think he will be obliged to join the Tories, as he has offended his former friends.

April 3rd.—Peel made a splendid speech this morning on Lord John Russell's resolution; but all his eloquence was in vain. The 'miscellaneous multitude' were determined not to listen, and Ministers were beaten by a majority of thirty-three—a larger one than was expected. The numbers that divided were—322 for the motion, 209 against it. I went up to London.

April 7th.—Lord John Russell's resolution passed the Commons yesterday by a majority of twenty-five. The Whigs are so certain of turning Peel out that they have already formed their Government, into which Lord Grey would force Lord Howick, though against their will. Lords Brougham, Palmerston, and Auckland are to be left out, but Lord Lansdowne stipulates for the latter, hitherto without success.

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April 8th.—Lord John Russell moved yesterday in the House of Commons 'That it is the opinion of the House that no measure upon the subject of tithes can be satisfactory to Ireland which does not embody the principle contained in the foregoing resolution.' The House divided on this motion, and carried it by a majority of twenty-seven—285 against 258. Sir Robert Peel made, as usual, an excellent speech.

April 9th.—Peel has resigned, and the King has sent for Lord Grey. It is not yet known how the new Cabinet will be formed, but the King is said to be staunch against admitting any Radicals. Addresses are coming in from all parts of the country praying the King to continue Peel in his present office, and praying Peel not to resign.

April 10th.—Sir Robert Peel made a magnificent speech on Wednesday, the 8th, announcing his resignation and his reasons for it. He was enthusiastically cheered from all parts of the House. Even his enemies cannot help admiring him, and confess that he is a great man. It is not yet known whom the King has chosen as a successor. Lords Grey and Melbourne have had interviews with him.

April 12th.—Addresses are still pouring in from all parts of the country in immense numbers. Peel's resignation has created a greater sensation and more alarm than any event in politics for many years.

April 14th.—If Lord John Russell takes office he must be re-elected for Devonshire, and Mr. Montague Parker is already canvassing against him, with every probability of

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success. All sorts of rumours about persons and places, but not sufficiently well authenticated to be worth reporting.

April 22nd.—We dined with the Sebastianis. One of his attachés asked me whether *la chasse du renard* was not *bien dangereuse.* I answered, 'Mais oui; on peut se casser le cou!' 'Oh, ce n'est pas cela que je veux dire,' answered he, 'car on peut aller doucement. Mais, n'est-ce pas que le renard se défend quelquefois et vous saute à la figure?'

April 26th.—I hear that Lord Alvanley has called out O'Connell for the language which he used in the House of Commons, calling Lord Alvanley a *bloated buffoon.* O'Connell had left London for Dublin only a quarter of an hour before Colonel Damer, who was charged with the message, reached his house. Lord Alvanley told Lord Tankerville that he did not mean to let the matter drop, and that if O'Connell would neither fight nor apologise he would disgrace him in the eyes of the country.

During this month there was a large party at Mr. Compton's to hunt with the Queen's staghounds, which were sent down to the New Forest. Among them came Lord Cardigan and Mr. Assheton Smith, both celebrated riders, and jealous of their reputation as such. I remember both at dinner on the day before the hunt glaring at one another as if they were mortal enemies about to fight the next day. Nor did they belie their looks, for they rode a regular race till both their horses were completely exhausted, Lord Cardigan's going two or three hundred yards farther than Assheton Smith's, and he thus claiming the victory. There is a story of that impetuous Earl and of Lord Alvanley—namely, that at the opening day at Melton, when they met on the field, the

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latter, with his hat off, said to Lord Cardigan: 'I beg to apologise to you not only for any past offences, but for all that I may commit during the ensuing season.'

May 4th.—Lord Alvanley fought a duel to-day with Morgan O'Connell. Lord Alvanley received three shots and only fired two. The cause of the duel was an impertinent letter which Morgan O'Connell sent to Lord Alvanley, in which he said that he had challenged his father knowing that he would not meet him. Lord Alvanley immediately sent Colonel Damer to make the necessary arrangements, and the duel took place that same afternoon in a field near the Barnet Road. Lord Alvanley showed great *sang froid* throughout, though Morgan O'Connell fired before the signal was given. Lord Alvanley agreed to consider it as a mistake, and they each fired two shots afterwards, Morgan O'Connell jumping back, very much startled. Colonel Hodges was his second. Mr. O'Connell saying he was satisfied after the last two shots, Colonel Damer withdrew Lord Alvanley from the field without his having made any apology or withdrawn what he had said respecting Mr. Daniel O'Connell. When Lord Alvanley paid the hackney coach which had brought him to the ground, he gave the coachman a sovereign, saying: 'I give you that, not for taking me here, but for having brought me back.'

It is said that Disraeli has called out Mr. Morgan O'Connell this morning, in consequence of an abusive speech of his father at Dublin, in which he said that Mr. Disraeli is probably a descendant of the impenitent thief who was crucified with our Saviour.

May 6th.—Mr. Montague Parker has just beaten Lord

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John Russell by 674 for the county of Devon, which is the first turn of fortune for the Tories. Mr. Morgan O'Connell refused to fight Mr. Disraeli, who thereupon wrote a letter to Mr. Daniel O'Connell of rather questionable taste and language, although deserved.

Sir John Byng is to be made a peer (Lord Strafford). He is canvassing Poole, and with such managers as Messrs. Bonham and Ross, the Tory side will probably fail.

May 16th.—London is *en émoi* to-day on account of the elopement of Miss Colquhoun Grant with Mr. Brinsley Sheridan. The whole thing has been arranged for some time between the parties, through Mrs. Norton, for Sir Colquhoun Grant would not allow his daughter to speak to Mr. Sheridan. They could not find an opportunity till Sir Colquhoun Grant left London to canvass Poole. Mrs. Norton then called for Miss Grant and took her to her house, where Mr. Sheridan was waiting, and they started for Scotland.

May 17th.—We dined with the Sebastianis (the French Ambassador). He was employed by Napoleon I., both in the army and diplomacy, and has a high reputation. He has married Lady Tankerville's sister. He is extremely pompous and a boaster. After being beaten by the Duke of Wellington at Talavera, his mother used to say of him, 'Mon fils ressemble à un de ses tambours—plus il est battu, plus il fait du bruit.' Sir Colquhoun has returned to London to consult his lawyer, and to prosecute the Sheridan family for conspiracy. His first step has been to shoot Miss Grant's favourite horse.[1]

[1] Sir C. Grant became completely reconciled to his son-in-law.

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Mrs. Norton came to Mme. Sebastiani's party, wishing, I suppose, to feel the world. She talked in a most extraordinary manner, and kicked Lord Melbourne's hat over her head. The whole *corps diplomatique* were amazed.

May 19th.—Mr. Spring Rice and Lord Wellesley have resigned, which must embarrass the Government considerably.

May 26th.—Went to the opera to see 'I Puritani,' a new opera by Bellini, which has been the rage at Paris the whole winter.

June 5th.—Poulett Thompson called to-day in great spirits. He assured us that Sir Robert Peel did not mean to oppose Municipal Reform, and that the bill would pass both Houses of Parliament without material alterations. I ventured to doubt the fact, and he offered to bet me 2 to 1 on it, which I accepted.

June 6th.—Upon reading Peel's speech, I am convinced that he does not intend to let the bill pass without great alteration, as he said he would not oppose its being brought in; but that he reserved to himself a right of objecting to it in detail.

June 19th.—Went to Sion. The Duke of Wellington came up to me whilst I was walking with Lady C. Herbert, and asked me if I had been at Lady Antrobus's concert the night before. I answered that I had not, upon which the Duke turned to Lady C. and said: '*You* were. Did we not send the French Ambassador to the right about?' alluding to the foolish conduct of Sebastiani, which was this:—The 18th

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of June being the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, the Duke, as usual, gave a great dinner, at which the King was present. After dinner the Duke came to Lady Antrobus's party, and the moment he entered the room everybody rose, and the singers struck up 'Rule, Britannia,' set to Italian words, and alluding to him and his glorious victory. Marshal Sebastiani very foolishly chose to consider this as a personal affront, took his wife's arm and walked out of the house. It is a pity they should have done this, as they have made themselves ridiculous, and more unpopular than they are already. She is blind, he is dumb, and they give neither dinners nor parties—an unpardonable offence in their position.

June 20th. — Lady Tankerville called this morning, and says that Sebastiani is so angry at what he chooses to call an insult that he declares he never will set foot in Lady Antrobus's house again.

June 29th.—The papers to-day announce the death of the famous Carlist chief, Zumalacarregui, who was killed before Bilbao. This is an irreparable loss to the Carlist cause. The Duke of Wellington expressed a very high opinion of his military capacity.

July 30th.—News arrived yesterday of an attempt having been made to assassinate Louis Philippe by an infernal machine on the 28th. Marshal Mortier was killed and many others severely wounded, but the King was untouched. The machine was placed at an open window on the first floor of a wine-shop on the Boulevards, and was composed of thirty pistols loaded with slugs and contrived so as to be all fired off

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at once. When the National Guard broke into the house, they found that the assassins were themselves wounded by the explosion, and arrested them. This reminds me that poor Marshal Mortier was once the victim of a clever robbery. He attended some great public dinner in a full marshal's uniform, which was very handsome, being highly embroidered and covered with medals. One of the waiters, apparently by accident, upset the contents of a whole sauce-boat over him, upon which another waiter offered, if he retired for a moment and took off his coat, to remedy the mishap. The Marshal did so, waited a long time, but never saw his coat again.

September 1st.—Yesterday the discussion on the Corporation Bill came on in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell made a temperate speech, willing to let the bill pass if the Peers would give up some of their amendments. The Radicals were, of course, for throwing it out at once, but the Conservatives mustered very strong, and the Radicals were not even listened to. Peel supported Lord John and threw over the House of Lords. He, however, would not consent to give up the clause preventing Dissenters from naming to livings in the gift of corporations.

September 5th.—There has been a meeting of Peers at the Duke of Wellington's, and they were unanimous not to give up a single point and furious with Peel. I fear they will spoil all by too much obstinacy.

September 10th.—The Lords and Commons have had an interview and agreed to pass the Corporation Bill with the amendments of the Lords; Ministers were so afraid of losing their places if they insisted on the Lords giving up any important clause.

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Jules de Polignac told me that he was not half as culpable as we supposed, and that the fatal ordinances were entirely Charles X.'s making, and that, in fact, he is guilty of nothing but of too blind obedience to his King, to whom he is quite devoted. When the Chambers voted the address to the King, praying him to dismiss his Ministers, Charles X., instead of doing so, dissolved the Chambers. When they met again, Polignac, finding that the same members had been re-elected and that he consequently could not hope to carry on a Government, begged the King to accept his resignation. Charles X. refused, upon which Polignac said, 'Vous voulez donc ma tête, Sire?' The King answered most brutally, 'Et pourquoi pas?'

1836

January 1st.—My youngest brother Charles announced to me that he was engaged to be married to the youngest daughter of Sir Lucius O'Brien.[1] He has also determined on entering the Church.[2]

February 6th.—Lady Pembroke[3] and three daughters arrived at Heron Court. All in great beauty—Lady Mary and Lady Catherine as handsome women as can be seen. My father is their guardian, and has a great affection for the family.

June 22nd.—The trial of Lord Melbourne came on to-

[1] Afterwards Lord Inchiquin. He was brother to the rebel.
[2] He died in 1874, Bishop of Gibraltar.
[3] Afterwards Lady Ailesbury, Lady Dunmore, and Lady Shelburne.

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day, and in spite of strong evidence against him the jury gave their verdict in his favour. Mrs. Norton must consider herself very fortunate in being let off so easily. All the Whigs are in raptures, which provoked an old Tory to say that 'he really couldn't see why Lord Melbourne should be so triumphant at the verdict given, as it had been proved that he had had more opportunities than any man ever had before, and had made no use of them.'

July 25th.—The 'appropriation clause' was carried yesterday in the House of Commons, by a majority of twenty-six only. Ministers expected a much larger majority, and could not disguise their annoyance.

Alibaud's execution took place at Paris perfectly quietly, probably owing to the immense quantity of troops under arms. He had improved upon the infernal machine of Fieschi, but was arrested before he could use it. The King goes about in a bullet-proof carriage.

The Constitution of 1812 has been proclaimed at Madrid, and the Queen forced to acquiesce. Colonel Evans, who commands the Westminster Legion in Spain, enrolled by Lord Palmerston in defiance of international law, to assist Christina against Don Carlos, is in a miserable state—defeated, his men starving and destitute of clothing.

Lord Tankerville related to me to-day an anecdote respecting Sir Philip Francis, whom Wraxall conjectures to have been the author of 'Junius,' and which supposition was very well founded and corroborated by many facts. It was supposed that he intended his name to be disclosed after his death, and had left papers establishing his identity with 'Junius,' but they were destroyed by his son-in-law. He determined not to acknowledge himself as the author of those

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letters during his life-time, and disliked to be asked questions on the subject. One evening at Brooks's, the conversation having fallen on a book just published which proved Francis to be 'Junius,' Rogers, the poet, went up to him and said, 'Sir Philip, will you allow me to ask you a question?' To which the other one replied very fiercely, 'Yes, sir, at your peril.' Upon which, Rogers turned round to someone near him and said, 'If he *is* "Junius," he is Junius Brutus.' Sir Philip used to say that he had written memoirs which he meant to be published after his death, which would be the ruin of every lady in society, and have the effect of destroying all filiation, as he clearly proved that not a single person was the son of his reputed father.

August 18th.—Hunted with the staghounds at Chillingham; at least two hundred horsemen out. After a run of several miles the stag was lost in a large wood. It is a fine country to ride across, but dangerous from the coal-pits.

1837

February 2nd.—Address upon the King's speech moved in the Lords by Duke of Wellington, and by Sir Robert Peel in the Commons. They attacked Lord Palmerston's foreign policy with respect to Spain, but neither moved any amendment.

February 5th.—French very indignant at no mention of

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them in King's speech. Their Government paper calls the omission an insult. No doubt the Ministers are angry with Louis Philippe because he will not go the length they do about Spain.

February 9th. — Debate on Irish Corporation Bill. O'Connell made a signal failure. His presence of mind seems to have deserted him. Debate adjourned.

February 10th.—Debate resumed. Sir Robert Peel made a splendid speech. Bill read first time without a division, our party reserving themselves for second reading. Whig papers threaten to indict Lord Ranelagh for high treason for joining Carlist army, which is absurd, as England has never declared war against Don Carlos, and he has as much right to join him as General Evans has to fight for Christina. Espartero still remains in Bilbao.

February 23rd.—Another plot discovered against the life of Louis Philippe. The assassin, called Champion, had constructed a machine after the plan of Fieschi's, but improved, the barrels being arranged in a semicircle and in three rows. The discovery took place by means of a person who lodged in the same house, and who, suspecting, from various circumstances, and also from some things told him by the maid (who was the mistress of Champion), that he was engaged in a plot against the King, wrote to Louis Philippe and to the police, and so the house was searched and the villain arrested, the machine being found nearly completed. He was taken to prison, where he contrived to hang himself with his neck-cloth, thus making it difficult to detect his accomplices.

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February 24th.—I drove to Bournemouth to see the new buildings. It will be a large place some day.

Lord F. Egerton's amendment to the Irish Municipal Bill has been thrown out by a majority of 80, which I suppose puts an end to all idea of a dissolution.

February 25th.—A good deal of division exists amongst the Tories, who are very careless in their attendance, and who prefer their pleasures to their duties. Not so the Whigs, who are always ready to obey their leader's call, and never dream of thinking for themselves.

The King has declared that he won't dissolve for either party. Mrs. Norton made her *début* at Lady Minto's a few nights ago, and was very well received. Her reception had been made a party question; indeed, the whole business has been so from the beginning.

March 7th.—News from Spain very favourable to Carlists. Forcadel, a lieutenant of Cabrera's, has defeated near Valencia a corps of 3,000 Christinos. Their Brigadier, Aznar, with forty officers, were taken prisoners and shot after the engagement. Four of Evans's men have been taken prisoners and shot by the Carlists. These poor Englishmen are the more to be pitied as they had been forced to remain in the service against their will. At the expiration of a year, which was the term for which they had enlisted, they applied to General Evans to be sent home, but he refused their request. They belonged to a Scotch regiment, and their fate has produced a great sensation at St. Sebastian. Evans must bitterly reproach himself for his conduct to these poor soldiers, for the only way in which he could have obliged them to remain in Spain was by refusing to

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give them the pay due for their year's service, which would have enabled them to return to England. General 'Lazy' Evans, as his soldiers now call him (his name being Lacy), after a great deal of blustering, threatening, and issuing ridiculous proclamations to the Basques, remains at St. Sebastian, as he has done for the last six months, and Espartero is inactive at Bilbao.

March 16th.—I published my pamphlet on the Basque War, which was an answer to one that came from our Embassy at Madrid.[1]

March 17th.—The attack on the Carlists has at last begun. Evans left St. Sebastian on the 10th with 12,000 men, and after several hours' hard fighting and great loss on both sides, succeeded in taking the heights of Asurzegana, the Carlists retreating to Hernani, where they intend to make a stand.

The Abolition of Church Rates Bill passed first reading, House of Commons, on the 15th, by a majority of only 23, which was considered a defeat.

March 19th.—Ministers, with the exception of Mr. Spring Rice, all voted for Mr. Clay's motion to abolish the Corn Laws. The motion was negatived in spite of the support of the Government.

March 21st.—Evans has been totally defeated; a heavy fall of snow having made the mountain roads impassable, obliged Saarsfeld to retreat towards Pampelona. Don

[1] The late Lord Carnarvon wrote a very interesting work on the Basque War and the *fueros*.

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Sebastian immediately marched upon Evans, and after a severe engagement drove him and his whole army into St. Sebastian.

March 24th.—The heavy loss which Evans suffered would have been still greater if it had not been for the gallant conduct of our Marines, who, though not more than four or five hundred in number, withstood the attack of the whole Carlist army and protected his retreat, or, more properly speaking, his flight. His left flank had been turned, and his men offered hardly any resistance. The employment of our Marines by Lord Palmerston against a people who were fighting for their liberties, and with whom we were not at war, is another example of his contempt for international law.

I shall quote nothing more from my diary about the Carlist War, of which there is a great deal. Everyone knows how it ended. After an heroic defence of their *fueros*, the Basques were sold by their General, Marotto, and after a desultory resistance by Cabrera, who actually reached the gates of Madrid, the Northern provinces were subdued. Cabrera came to England, and, under the auspices of the Duchess of Inverness, married Miss Richards, a considerable heiress, which marriage turned out very well till his death. He had been a sacristan in Andalusia. General Sir de Lacy Evans afterwards commanded a division in the Crimean War, and was esteemed a good officer; but Marshal Pélissier told me that when a council of war was held after the battle of Inkerman to consider the necessity of abandoning the Crimea, he was the first to recommend it. The Marshal

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gave a very graphic description of the scene. He described Lord Raglan, as Commander-in-Chief, being the last to speak, in unusual agitation moving the stump of his lost arm convulsively, and when Pélissier voted for remaining, rushing up to him to shake hands, declaring that nothing would make him stir.

April 8th.—Received a requisition from Portsmouth. Met Count Pozzo di Borgo, Russian Ambassador at the Tuileries, and was struck with a remark he made as rather undiplomatic. I happened to say that I had been present at the opening of the House of Lords after the sudden dissolution of Parliament upon the rejection of the Reform Bill, when the King was nearly coming in a hackney coach to the House of Lords. Upon this he replied, 'Quand il a jeté sa couronne dans la poussière.' He is one of the cleverest of living diplomatists.

April 19th.—Lady Fitzharris and I started from London by steamer to Boulogne on our way to Paris.

April 23rd.—Reached Paris, and went to the Hôtel de Londres, Place Vendôme. Excellent apartments for forty francs a day.

April 27th.—We went with Lady Pembroke and Lady Mary Herbert (who was engaged to Lord Bruce) to the Champ de Mars races. Lord Pembroke famous for his turn out. I never saw a handsomer equipage. His groom being asked by him whether he had exercised the horses, said: 'Yes, my Lord, I have walked them twenty times round Wyndham Place'—meaning Place Vendôme.

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Lord Pembroke lives in great state at Paris, and is as famous for his cook as for his horses. He is a very handsome man.

Dined at Lord Granville's, our Ambassador. Lady Granville has made a rule to present no English at Court, so Lady Fitzharris will be presented by her aunt, the Duchesse de Gramont.

May 3rd.—Madame Sebastiani took us to the Tuileries to present us. We entered by the Pavillon de Flore, which is a private entrance. After passing through several magnificent apartments, the Queen received us. She was sitting at a round table with Madame Adelaide and the Princess de Lieven. We were asked to sit down by the Queen, who talked a great deal to Lady Fitzharris. It was altogether the most formal business. Nothing could be kinder than the manner of the Queen and Madame Adelaide to both of us; but I thought they behaved very coldly to Madame de Lieven, and appeared much more at their ease when she left. Madame de Lieven, after she had been ambassadress or rather ambassador in London, went to Paris, and her *salon* is one of the most agreeable, not only for fashion, but is one to which all the cleverest statesmen of the time resort. Guizot is never missing, and Molé generally there. Mademoiselle de Mensingen—a very handsome *chanoinesse*—presides at the tea-table, to which those who are young and careless of politics congregate. The other evening a very good-looking and smart gentleman was announced. The Princess stared at him, saying: 'Monsieur, je ne vous connais pas.' The poor man, looking very foolish, exclaimed, 'Comment, Madame! Ne vous rappelez-vous pas, à Ems?' 'Non, Monsieur'—and she bowed him out. I never saw anything so cool; but

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it was clear to the company, who could not conceal their smiles, that a gentleman who may be useful at Ems may be *de trop* at Paris.

May 21st.—I left Paris. It is high time I should look after Portsmouth. Nothing is talked of but the marriage of the Duke of Orleans. The Duchess is said to be plain. Palmyre, her dressmaker, has been ordered to make her gowns different from any that have ever been worn, and has accordingly invented one.

May 24th.—London. The Church-Rate Bill has passed by 287 to 282.

May 27th.—Finding it useless to go to Portsmouth till I can canvass the whole borough, I shall wait for the July registration, so returned to Paris, and found on arriving that my butler, named Stephens, whom I had taken from Madame Visconti, had gone off with a considerable quantity of property belonging to Lady Fitzharris and me, of which he had the care. I sent for the Commissary of Police, who, after listening to the case, very coolly stated that as Stephens had been gone for two days he should probably not catch him, and in consequence of a book of poetry found in his room (I believe 'Byron'), that he was probably of a romantic nature, and had drowned himself in the Seine! The next morning he called to say that the thief was not to be found. I expected this from his former manner—evidently showing that he never meant to take him. The next day Lady Fitzharris's maid received a pathetic note from Stephens, praying her to save his life by bringing him that night his passport, which he had forgotten, to a certain bench in the

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Champs Elysées. I persuaded the girl with some difficulty to go, and I followed close behind her. It was a dark night, and when she came up to the seat I went round it, collared, and threw him. He made no resistance, and I brought him to our house. I sent again for the Commissary, and, showing him Stephens, I said, 'Je suis obligé, Monsieur, de faire votre besogne.' He was furious, but walked out of the room with his prisoner, who I afterwards ascertained was one of the principal and regular *mouchards* of the police. Hence the attempt to save him.[1]

June 11th.—Having been invited to the *fêtes* at Versailles for the Duke of Orleans' marriage, we went to the Gramonts, who have a house there. On presenting my ticket at the *Musée*, I was told that foreigners were not to be admitted. On appealing to Madame de Flahault, she said that a mistake had been made. It was first intended to invite them, but it turned out that there was not sufficient room, as one hundred more people had been asked than could be accommodated at the dinner, and of course they had to give way to the heroes of July.

In the evening we were admitted to the presence of the Royal Family. The Duchess of Orleans is not pretty, but graceful, and looks very young. We then all went to the theatre, where there was plenty of room. A great many more might have been invited, yet the *coup d'œil* was splendid — the theatre being nearly as large as Drury Lane, and every one in full dress—the ladies covered with diamonds, the gentlemen in uniform.

The company invited to dinner sat on the *balcon*. In the seats behind were ladies, the Chamber of Peers and

[1] Stephens was tried and condemned to two years' imprisonment.

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Deputies, and above were all the foreigners. Half the pit was appropriated to the Royal Family and their suite. The performance began by the 'Misanthrope,' which, though beautifully acted, was a terrible bore. Mademoiselle Mars was perfect. Afterwards two acts of 'Robert le Diable,' in which Dupré, the tenor, sang splendidly. The whole concluded with a ballet, in which one scene represented Versailles as it was in Louis XIV.'s time, giving a most complete idea of the magnificence of those glorious days of France when the King himself danced in a ballet!

June 12*th*.—Returned to Paris and heard a very bad account of our King.

June 15*th*.—No hope of our King's recovery. A horrible accident has happened in the Champ de Mars during the military representation of storming a fort; and the ball at the Palace is put off in consequence of thirty people having been crushed to death. It made a serious impression on the Duchess of Orleans, who looked on it as a bad omen at her marriage. The Duke is extremely kind and civil to me, and asked me to hunt at Chantilly. The stag broke away from the forest, and took us nearly to Beauvais. His Royal Highness presented me with the foot, which the artist Susse has turned into a pen-rack. The Duke also gave me the buttons of his hunt. The costume is dark blue with a red collar, his crown and initials on silver buttons.

June 21*st*.—Our King died yesterday between two and three o'clock. Everybody regretted him, for he was a good man, though not a great king. He showed much firmness and composure in his last moments, and it is said that, two

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days before he died, being the anniversary of the battle of Waterloo, the Duke of Wellington had sent him, according to custom, the banner by which he holds his estates. Lord Munster, thinking to please him, brought it to him, when the poor King, though almost expiring, raised himself up, seized the folds of the flag in his hand, and exclaimed, 'Ah! that was a glorious day for England.' These were his last words, and well worthy of an English king.

June 22nd.—Left Paris for Portsmouth.

I repaired to Portsmouth, in consequence of a requisition, and stood for the seat in conjunction with the celebrated Admiral Sir George Cockburn; his nephew, Mr. Cockburn,[1] being our legal agent. We canvassed Portsmouth for three weeks during the hottest July I ever remember, and at the election were deserted and thrown over by many of the very men who had signed the requisition. Almost immediately afterwards I received one from Christchurch, which I declined. A sharp contest took place there between Sir George Rose (Tory) and Colonel Cameron, a Liberal, in which the latter was defeated. Since that time, another Reform Bill has added the new town of Bournemouth to the borough of Christchurch, which has completely swamped it. My brother, Capt. Harris, R.N., sat for it for eight years.

September 18th.—Arrived at Chillingham, where Lord and Lady Stanley came, and I made his acquaintance for the first time. He is very amusing, and with his high spirits and cleverness kept a large party in roars of laughter.

[1] Afterwards Lord Chief Justice of England.

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Poulett Thompson, who was there, was the victim of his jokes, but all made so good-humouredly that it was impossible to be angry.

September 21*st.*—Went out partridge shooting with Lord Stanley, and I think we have taken a decided liking to one another. The Stanleys leave to-morrow, and we are to pay them a visit at Knowsley on our way South.

October 19*th.*—Left Chillingham for Howick. Found Poulett Thompson and Bear Ellis and the family. Lord Grey bitter against the present Government. I asked P. Thompson what the Earl's politics were at present, and his answer was: 'What they always have been—Charles Lord Grey.' The evening was formal, but all the family very kind. Lord Clanricarde was one of the party.

November 1*st.*—Dined with Sebastiani, where we met the Duke and Duchess of Terceira. She is the daughter of the unfortunate Marquis de Loulé, who was murdered by Don Miguel.

November 17*th.*—Took the Duke and Duchess of Terceira to the House of Lords to hear the Queen's speech—her first one—which Her Majesty delivered in a very clear and distinct voice.

November 20*th.*—Parliament is only to be prorogued to January 16, instead of to February 1, in consequence of the bad news that has been received from Canada. The long-expected insurrection has broken out, and the English troops have been defeated at St. Denis. The whole number of

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troops in that province does not amount to 4,000 men, and the insurgents include nine-tenths of the population. Constant defeat must therefore be expected, for it will be impossible to send reinforcements to Canada for five months to come. Ministers are terribly frightened. They will have great difficulty in finding excuses for their culpable negligence, as they have been repeatedly warned of what was likely to happen if they delayed any longer in taking decided steps for the safety of the Colony.

November 27th.—The news from Canada is better to-day, although there is no doubt that Colonel Gore's detachment was beaten at St. Denis. The affair was of very little importance, the number of troops engaged not amounting to more than 200, and Col. Wetherell, who commanded another party, in attacking St. Charles gained a complete victory, and made a great slaughter of the rebels.

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January 1st.—For the last few days the news from Canada has been very good. The insurrection seems to be nearly suppressed. Papineau has fled, and it is said that Colonel Browne has been murdered by his own party for cowardice. Troops are, however, going out to Canada as soon as possible, and, in order that their arrival should be more certain and speedy, they are to be sent out in frigates instead of transports.

January 25th.—The news from Canada continues very

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favourable. Sir George Colborne has been perfectly successful in his attack upon St. Eustache and Grand Bulé; both of which places he has taken and burned with very little loss on his side.

January 26th.—I killed five white-fronted geese to-day, stalking them with a pony, which is the only way of getting near them.

January 29th.—Sir Robert Peel having obliged the Government to consent to adopt his amendment to their Canada Bill, they did it with enough ill grace to show that their doing so was compulsory.

January 31st, February 1st, 2nd, and *3rd.*—The American radical papers are in a state of the greatest fury with this country, and are doing all they can to incite their countrymen to a war, because a party of Canadians attacked and captured a steamboat, the 'Carolina,' belonging to the rebels at Navy Island, which they had bought for the purpose of transporting men and arms to the island. Even if it had belonged to the Americans, the Royalists had a perfect right to take it, as it was employed against them, by every law of neutrality. The American papers are making themselves very ridiculous, threatening vengeance, and writing the most absurd tirades.

February 4th.—The news from Canada continues very satisfactory, the American Government being evidently averse to war with England, and anxious to preserve neutrality by all the means in their power. The President even goes so far as to demand additional power to be vested in the executive force in order to compel the population on the

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frontiers to abstain from any acts of aggression. The news of the capture and burning of the 'Caroline' had reached the Government; there had been a debate in Congress on the subject, and the almost universal feeling seemed to be that we were justified in our attack upon that vessel, as the Americans had been themselves the first to infringe the neutrality laws. The destruction of the Emperor of Russia's Winter Palace at St. Petersburg by fire has occurred; then the Italian Opera House in Paris; and within the next few days the palace of the Duke of Würtemberg, which the Duchess (a daughter of Louis Philippe) was supposed to have caused, as it was in her room the fire originated. The Duchess has lost all her jewels and *trousseau*.

February 5th.—I killed four wild swans to-day.[1] An immense flight—I counted sixty—passed over my head, and a beautiful sight it was. They alighted a long way up the river Avon. I followed them, when, after waiting for some time longer, I saw the whole flight get up again and fly backwards and forwards, dividing into several parties, then unite again, some ending by alighting again in the Avon, but further down, and the others in the direction of the Moor's River, screaming like a pack in full cry. The cold was intense. The river was choked with mountains of ice and snow, so the scene was very striking. Hundreds of wildfowl were flying about, seeking for a resting-place where the water was open—some very rare species.

February 14th, *15th*, and *16th.*—News has been received of the evacuation of Navy Island by the rebels, on the

[1] I shot thirty-two of these splendid birds during this severe winter, some of which were of a smaller species, called Bewick's Swan, weighing about 10 lbs., whilst the Hoopers reached 25 lbs.

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evening of January 14; and of the returning of the cannon to General Eyre, the American officer in command of the frontier. The American Government seems sincere in its professions of neutrality, but the citizens have behaved infamously.

February 26th.—Lord Maidstone brought forward his motion to-day against O'Connell, and carried it by a majority of nine in a House of over five hundred members. He then moved that O'Connell should be reprimanded by the Speaker, upon which Lord John Russell got up in a passion, and said such a course was a most shabby ending to the proceedings of the Conservatives. This greatly disappointed O'Connell and his party, who had made up their minds to be sent to the Tower in a body, and thereby to excite a popular cry in their favour, as in the case of Sir Francis Burdett, who was escorted to the Tower by all the ragamuffins in London. The Conservatives observed a firm front, and the Government, seeing that they would be beaten, moved the adjournment of the House. Two divisions took place, and, although the Government were beaten each time, Sir Robert Peel, seeing that they were determined to continue dividing, agreed to postpone the discussion on Lord Maidstone's resolution until the following day.

February 27th.—The Government brought down to-day every man they could muster—sick, halt, and blind—but notwithstanding all their exertions were beaten by a larger majority than last night. In the first division the Conservatives had a majority of 24, and in the second 29, upon which the Ministers, seeing that they were losing by continuing to divide the House, gave up the point.

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February 28th.—I went to Mr. Landseer's, to whom Lady Fitzharris gave a sitting of two hours. He is very anxious to finish her picture for the Exhibition. It has been very much admired, and Lord Conyngham, amongst others, was so pleased with it that he mentioned it to the Queen, who desired that we should send it to her as soon as finished, so that I have no doubt his vanity and self-interest will stimulate Mr. Landseer to exert himself to do his best.

March 9th.—Left London at 11 A.M., and arrived at Dover at 7.30 in the evening, although coming all the way with four horses. We went to the York Hotel, which we found very comfortable and particularly quiet.

March 10th.—Embarked at 8 A.M. on board the 'Duke of Wellington' steamer for Boulogne. There were not more than five or six passengers besides ourselves.

March 18th.—The first people I met at Paris were Count Pahlen, and then the eternal M. de Bonneval, whom I can never see without thinking of the Duc de Richelieu's observation about his success at masquerades:—'Bonneval a toujours un succès fou aux bals masqués, car il est si bête que tout le monde s'adresse à lui, étant bien sûr de n'être pas reconnu.' Mme. le Hon, who is said to be M. de Morny's *belle*, is a handsome fair woman, and at the head of all the fashion. Went to a *tableau* given by Mrs. Locke. It was not begun when we arrived, but we were not kept waiting long before being admitted into the room where the stage was erected. The first *tableau* represented a scene in 'Les Brigands,' in which Lady Wallscourt, Mrs. Locke's little girl, Mademoiselle Dentici, an Italian, and M. Antonin de

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Noailles performed. There were three *tableaux*, all pretty, particularly the last, which was taken from Lord Byron's 'Parisina.' Lord Douglas represented Hugo, looking very handsome; Miss Raikes was Parisina, and did it remarkably well. Count Zichy acted the part of the husband, and M. Antonin de Noailles that of the executioner, but all with the exception of Miss Raikes were seized with an unfortunate fit of laughter as soon as the curtain was drawn, occasioned by the Duchesse de Poix exclaiming, 'Ah! le bel homme!'—a remark which she applied to Count Zichy, who laughed to that degree that he rolled in his chair, which was peculiarly unlucky, as he ought to have looked the stern and unbending tyrant. The curtain was closed for a few minutes to give them time to recover, and when they had regained their composure they went through their parts with great effect. I also saw the famous Madame Martinetti, who was mistress to Napoleon in his first campaign in Italy. She is now sixty-five, but does not appear to be more than forty, her face being still very handsome, and her figure like that of a young woman.

March 24th.—We went to Princess Lieven's, where there was rather a pleasant party. I saw M. Guizot for the first time. He is a very remarkable-looking man, ugly, but with a very sharp, clever countenance, though with the expression of the old Puritans.

April 7th.—Lady Fitzharris went to see her cousin Adèle, Superior of the Convent of the Sacré Cœur, who made a violent attack upon her Protestant religion. To make up for all the harsh things she said, she proposed to her to go and see the corpse of the Archbishop of Toulouse, who had

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died in the convent a day before. She assured her he was 'dressed,' and not at all a disagreeable object; notwithstanding which we made our escape as quick as possible, determined not to return to the convent until he is buried, as Adèle is quite capable of having him brought to us, if we don't go to him. Went to Princess Lieven's in the evening and found M. Guizot there; M. Berryer, the famous Royalist lawyer, and Lord Brougham, who kept everyone in a roar of laughter by the absurd things he said in his bad French. Amongst others, talking of the Princess Charlotte having run away from her nurse to her mother, he said: 'Dans ce temps-là j'ai passé un nuit avec Madame de Flahault—un nuit très agréable entre elle et la fille du Roi.' Everybody was amazed at this speech: poor Madame de Flahault looked perfectly horrified. Madame de Lieven, with all her good breeding, could not keep from laughing, and of course the rest followed her example. It is quite decided that M. de Flahault is not to go to England as ambassador, and the King has named Marshal Soult, and Soult thanked him for his appointment. The King said: 'You must not thank me; it is the young Queen of England who has asked for you.' Madame Graham came up to Lady Fitzharris in the evening, when she was sitting by Madame de Lieven, and said: 'Eh bien, miladi, quel est l'amoureux que vous voulez que je vous amène—choisissez?' Mr. Raikes, who heard this wonderful speech, said, alluding to the report that Madame Graham was formerly a milliner, 'Cela est plus modiste que modeste.'

April 27th.—Dined with the Sebastianis; the Marshal in a bad humour, and dinner went off heavily.

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May 1st.—**Nobody at Madame de Lieven's this evening except the faithful M. Guizot, so we went on to Madame de Ségur. I hear the Duke de Valenciennes will not go to England with Marshal Soult, as he does not like that M.** Airgues, who is appointed Secretary to the Embassy, should have the *pas* over him. This would not have been the case under the old *régime*, as gentlemen who accompanied an Ambassador Extraordinary were never designated as Attachés, but simply as *gentilshommes*, which left them precedence according to their rank. Now the appellation of *gentilhomme* is prohibited, and all who accompany the Ambassador must go as Attachés, which of course places them below the Secretary to the Embassy. We went to the reception at the Tuileries this evening at eight o'clock with Madame Sebastiani, but notwithstanding that we started so early, all the seats were taken, and we had to stand the whole time. It was a very fine sight, and, though a great fatigue, we are glad we went. The crowd was very great, but the apartments were so large that we suffered no inconvenience, except not getting seats, for there was no pushing and scrambling such as I saw at the Queen's Drawing Rooms in England. The reception also took place in the evening, and it was very pretty, owing to the effect on both the complexions and the dresses of the ladies, which look much better by candlelight.

May 9th.—Dined at home with Lord Douglas. We went at eight to the Russian Ambassador's to fetch the Sebastianis, and from thence to the Tuileries, where there were a good many people. All the chairs were occupied; but the Queen ordered Lady Fitzharris to be placed next to her, and talked to her the greatest part of the time we remained.

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May 12th.—We dined at the Tuileries, and I was introduced to the Duchess of Orleans. The King came in soon after six, and immediately led the Duchess of Orleans to dinner. The Queen followed with the Duke of Würtemberg, the Duke of Nemours with the Duchess of Würtemberg, the Duke of Orleans with the Princess Clementina, and one of the unknown Bavarians fell to Lady Fitzharris. The dinner was in the Galérie de Diane, and everything of course was very handsome in the way of plate; but the dinner itself was execrable, and the wine the same. The attendance was very perfect, every person at table having a servant behind their chair, whose sole duty it was to wait upon them. The dinner lasted very little more than an hour. We all returned to the room where the Queen received, and everybody remained standing while coffee was served. I was near Mme. Sebastiani, to whom the King was talking, and I overheard her say 'Oui, Monseigneur,' and very foolishly, instead of letting it pass as a slip of the tongue, said: 'Ah, pardon, sire; c'est sire que je voulais dire.' The King answered: 'Mais, vous n'avez pas d'excuses à me faire; c'est bien naturel que vous m'appeliez "Monseigneur;" il y a beaucoup de personnes qui le font, c'est une méprise bien excusable.' She then tried to get out of it by saying that, having sat at dinner next to the Duke of Orleans, she had got into the habit of saying it, and forgot that she was no longer talking to him. The King again repeated: 'C'est très excusable; vous avez été habituée pendant si longtemps à m'appeler "Monseigneur," que la méprise est bien naturelle.'

May 16th.—I went to Chantilly, where the Duke of Orleans entertained a party very handsomely.

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May 21st.—I returned from Chantilly. The Duke of Orleans was extremely kind and civil, and on the day of the hunt, having arrived before the other foreigners at the taking of the stag, he gave me the foot as a souvenir of himself and of Chantilly. We dined afterwards at the Rothschilds, where we met the Sebastianis, the Apponyis, Lord Granville, Marshal Soult, &c.

May 22nd.—Prince Talleyrand's funeral took place this morning at the Church of the Assumption. There was a great crowd collected to see the procession, and of course a large military force to prevent any disturbance. He died on the 17th, having received the sacraments, although during his life he was supposed to have been an unbeliever, and in fact did not deny it. His memoirs, which must be most curious, are not to be published for twenty years.[1] He received the sacraments from M. Dupanloup.

June 7th.—I hear there have been dreadful riots in Kent. The country people had been persuaded by a madman calling himself Sir William Courtney that he and they were invulnerable, and accordingly they fought desperately, and, in spite of their inferiority in numbers and arms to their opponents, would not give in until Courtney and eight or nine of their side had been killed. Lieutenant Bennett was killed by Courtney in the act of rushing upon him. Courtney was immediately shot by the soldiers, after which the rioters attacked them with such ferocity that they were obliged to fire in self-defence. This morning Louis Philippe had a review of the troops of the Line garrisoned at Paris. He stationed himself near the Obelisk at the Place Louis

[1] They are not published yet, 1884.

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Quinze, and they all passed by *en grande tenue*. Before the attempts were made to murder the King, the reviews used to take place on the Boulevards; now they are always in the Place Louis Quinze, where he is as safe as in his palace, for not a single carriage or foot passenger is allowed to approach him, and guards are placed in all the streets leading to the Place, who stop everybody without any exception. The Gardens of the Tuileries are closed, so that the road from the Palace along the Quays is quite safe, the river being on one side and the empty gardens on the other.

June 14*th*.—We left Paris at twelve, stopped for an hour at Beauvais to dinner, and reached Grandvilliers at nine.

June 15*th*.—Reached Montreuil at seven; got along very slowly, as there was much travelling on the road and a deficiency of postboys.

June 16*th*.—Reached Calais at four.

June 17*th*.—Embarked on board the 'Ocean,' a large steamer with bad accommodation. The sea was smooth. Amongst the passengers there was a man who said he was returning for the coronation, which he was to attend as a page. He talked of nothing but Italy, himself, and his travels, telling many marvellous stories which his audience swallowed with the greatest readiness.

June 18*th*.—Found London occupied by the duel which had just taken place between Lord Castlereagh and M. de Melcy, Grisi's husband, in which the former was wounded in the wrist. It is said M. de Melcy intercepted a letter from

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Lord Castlereagh to his wife, and immediately called him out.

June 27th.—Owing to the Queen's coronation, I never saw anything like the state of the streets to-day. It was nearly impossible to move along them for postboys and strings of carriages going at a foot's pace. They are stopped up at every turn by carts carrying planks for the scaffoldings that are being erected along the line of the Coronation procession.

June 28th.—The coronation took place to-day. We called for Poulett Thompson, who accompanied us to the Board of Trade. The Government, or rather Lord John Russell, had given no orders to the police to make carriages keep the line, and there was in consequence a good deal of confusion, coachmen cutting in, &c. But the day was so very fine, and the appearance of the streets so new to us, as we had never been in London during a coronation, that we were in no hurry to arrive. The crowd was in perfect good humour, and behaved very quietly. We reached the Board of Trade at ten, when the firing of cannon announced that the Queen had left the Palace, and at about eleven the procession appeared in sight. It was a magnificent show, though we had to thank the foreign ambassadors for a great part of its splendour, as without them the procession would have been very little more brilliant than when the Queen goes down to the House of Lords to open Parliament. The only people cheered besides the Queen were the Duchess of Kent, the Duke of Sussex, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, and Marshal Soult. The latter was quite overcome by his reception, which was entirely unexpected by him, and

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he said it was a most noble trait in the English character to receive an old enemy so enthusiastically, for the cheering proceeded from all classes.

August 4th.—I started for the Isle of Skye with Mr. Compton, M.P. for South Hants, and arrived at Oban on the 10th. I found the state of the population rather deteriorated than otherwise since my last visit. The crofters seem to have entirely worked out their little plots and have no manure to refresh them. Lord Macdonald has done all he could to improve their position by building new and clean cottages; but so fond are they of their old state of dirt, that they pulled up the planks of the floor, preferring to lie on the bare ground. What is to be done with these Celts?

August 29th.—I returned to Chillingham Castle.

October 4th.—At a great agricultural dinner at Wooler; from thence I went to Cornhill to fish for salmon in the Tweed. I killed seventeen in one day.

October 20th.—The papers to-day announce Lord Durham's resignation of the Governorship of Canada. Mr. Poulett Thompson, who was staying at Chillingham, shot one of the wild bulls in the park, which is considered high treason by Lord Tankerville. Mr. Thompson, thinking it was not known, was thunderstruck at seeing a long account of his performance in the 'Newcastle Journal,' which his host read out at breakfast and covered him with confusion.

November 8th.—I left Chillingham for London. This is a journey of four days, with four horses and well-paid

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postboys. The inns on the road are most of them as comfortable as one's own house, quiet and very well served, with generally good wine, and the landlord attending in person. Horses are changed in four minutes, as the relays stood at the door, with the postboy ready mounted.

December 3rd.—Another insurrection has broken out in Canada, and Sir John Colborne has proclaimed martial law—a vigorous measure, which Lord Durham never would have dared to resort to.

December 5th.—Good news from Canada. There has been an engagement between the rebels and the volunteer forces commanded by Colonel Taylor, which ended in the total defeat of the former after two hours' hard fighting. Mr. Ellice and some other gentlemen who had been taken prisoners made their escape; those who had been left to guard them having run away. Sir John Colborne marched against the rebels, but they did not wait for him. The insurrection is at an end. Lord Durham has arrived in London and looks quite subdued. He must be greatly vexed, now that he hears how easily the rebellion in Canada has been quelled, that he did not remain, for he would have got all the credit Colborne has obtained, and without any risk whatever; Quebec and Montreal having remained perfectly quiet.

December 23rd.—We went to Wilton. There is a very large party now staying in the house; among them being the Count and Countess Woronzow. Madame Woronzow is now old. She is clever and agreeable, but evidently very much afraid of Lady Pembroke, before whom she is silent

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and reserved. Count Woronzow is still a very handsome man, and quite the Russian grandee. The whole party is occupied in rehearsing a play that is to be acted next week.

December 27th.—We left Wilton for Savernake, a charming villa belonging to Lord Bruce in the Park at Tottenham, and I should think much preferable as a residence to the great house.

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February 5th.—Parliament opens to-day.

February 6th.—The Queen's speech was a very poor composition as usual. The Ministers dare not make any allusion to the Corn Laws. Nothing is said respecting the dreadful state of Ireland; very little about Canada, and that little evidently framed to avoid giving offence to Lord Durham, attributing the suppression of the disturbance to the valour of the troops and the loyalty of the inhabitants. Not a word in praise of Sir John Colborne.[1]

February 7th.—The debate yesterday on the Address was a triumphant one for the Opposition. Peel made a splendid speech in favour of the Corn Laws, turning Mr. Wood, the seconder of the Address, into ridicule. Mr. Heathcote, hitherto a supporter of the Government, declared in favour of the present system of the Corn Laws, and none of our side, with the exception of Peel, said a word. Tommy Duncombe

[1] Sir J. Colborne commanded the celebrated 52nd Regiment in the Peninsula and at Waterloo.

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proposed an amendment to the effect that the Reform Bill didn't go far enough. It was opposed by the Government, and thrown out on a division by a majority of 426 to 86. The debate in the House of Lords was equally in our favour. The Duke of Wellington made an excellent speech, and Lord Brougham a very eloquent one, in which he inveighed against O'Connell in the strongest terms. A meeting took place at Sir Robert Peel's two days before, at which he implored the Conservatives to be united and not to split upon minor differences *with respect to the Corn Laws, declaring himself in favour of the present system, against fixed duty or any alteration whatever.* My father received to-day a letter from Milan, which makes it necessary that I should proceed there immediately. I shall have a very fatiguing and tiresome journey at this time of year, as the weather is as bad as possible.

February 22nd.—I arrived at Paris with my uncle, Admiral Dashwood, on the 19th, after a very tedious journey, the roads being hardly passable and like nothing except a ploughed field. Lord Ebrington has been appointed to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. It is the old story of the mountain and the mouse, for, judging by the boasting language of Poulett Thompson, that their only difficulty was *embarras de richesses,* I expected at least the Duke of Sussex or the Duke of Sutherland. Lord Ebrington is to be called up to the House of Lords by the title of Baron Fortescue, which will make a vacancy in the representation of North Devon, and there is no doubt that the Opposition will gain the seat.

March 11th.—Reached Milan to-day. The debate on Mr.

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Villiers' motion terminated by a triumph for the Conservatives; 195 voted for the motion and 342 against, giving a majority of 147.

March 25th.—I returned to England, having succeeded in the object of my journey, through deep snow.

April 7th.—Lord Ossulston arrived from Paris, and amused us very much with the accounts of his journey. He travelled in company with Lord Brougham and Mr. Leader; the former going under the name of Mr. Edmunds and Lord Ossulston, and Mr. Leader as the young Edmunds. At every inn they stopped at, if it was only for a few minutes, Lord Brougham got out to write a letter to some lady or other. He is more mad than ever.

April 15th.—Lord John Russell brought forward this afternoon his motion in support of the Irish policy of the Government. I went to Lord Clanwilliam's, where there was a large concourse of Herberts and Woronzows assembled to see a conjurer. I sat by the great heiress, the young Countess Potocka, who was rather good-looking—one may say beautiful, considering that she has above forty thousand a year.

May 7th.—The division on the Jamaica Bill took place this morning. The Ministers had only a majority of five against Peel's amendment. A Cabinet Council was held a few hours afterwards, at which the Ministers decided to tender their resignations to the Queen. Poulett Thompson wrote me a note at half-past two from the Council announcing the news. Lord Melbourne had announced his resignation in

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the House of Lords, and added that the Queen had accepted it. Lord John Russell made the same announcement in the Commons, omitting the last important fact. I afterwards met Thompson, who said that the Queen had sent for Lord Spencer, who would of course advise her to send for Peel, as none but a Tory Government could stand.

May 8th.—The Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were sent for to-day by the Queen, who received them most graciously, and gave the latter a *carte blanche* to form an administration.

May 9th.—Sir Robert Peel had an audience with the Queen yesterday, lasting for three hours. She received him very kindly, and said she would not conceal from him that she was much grieved at parting with her old Government, but she felt it was necessary, and the good of the country was her first object, superseding every other consideration whatever; she had perfect confidence in him, and would act fairly towards him, and give him every assistance in her power to carry on the Government. The list of the Cabinet is to be out to-night.

May 10th.—Sir Robert Peel has resigned in consequence of the Queen refusing to change her ladies. Went to the Queen's Ball. The Queen danced a quadrille with the Grand Duke of Russia. He is far from being handsome—has a great deal of the Calmuck in his features, and, though of a fine height, he stoops, which gives him an awkward appearance. I talked for some time to Pozzo di Borgo, who is in a terrible state about Sir Robert Peel's resignation. The Duke of Wellington came downstairs as we were

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waiting for the carriage, and spoke most affectionately to us. Everybody at the ball seemed anxious and pre-occupied. The men, instead of making themselves agreeable to the ladies, were assembled in groups all over the rooms talking earnestly; and people disseminated every sort of fabrication —saying that Peel wanted to turn away the Baroness Leuzen, &c. Lord Normanby had said openly at the dinner which Lord Palmerston gave the day Peel accepted office that he was determined his wife should not be dismissed, and that he would take good care she was not.

May 13th.—Sir Robert Peel made his explanation to the House of Commons, which was perfectly satisfactory to his party, proving his conduct to have been most honourable, his demands very moderate, and their rejection by the Queen perfectly inconceivable, except under the supposition, which now amounts almost to a certainty, that she has been misled by a party, and that she was told to refuse to give up *any of her ladies*, which Lord Melbourne and his colleagues knew that Peel would not agree to, and that he would therefore be obliged to resign, as has been the case. The House was very crowded, and Peel loudly cheered by the whole of his party when at the termination of his speech he appealed to them for an approval of his conduct. The Ministers looked in very good spirits before he began, but as he proceeded, the clearness of his statement and the strong case he made out in favour of the extreme moderation of his demands, produced a sensible change in his opponents' countenances. It turns out that, far from having required 'the dismissal of the whole of the household and the friends who had surrounded the Queen from childhood'—meaning the Baroness Leuzen—Peel only wished to dismiss the wives and sisters

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of the Cabinet Ministers, and only those who were of the rank of ladies of the bedchamber and above that rank, but none below. The number dismissed would not therefore have exceeded three or four. The opinion that Lord Melbourne's resignation was a sham gains ground every day. Even Lord John Russell's reply to Peel confirms it, as he admits that a Cabinet Council was held on the Thursday, at which Lord Melbourne and his colleagues agreed that the Queen ought not to give up her ladies, and drew up a paper to that effect. Lord Melbourne also wrote a letter to Peel, informing him of her determination not to do so, in consequence of which he sent her his resignation on Friday. The Ministers are, therefore, proved by their own evidence to have given this advice after they were no longer responsible, or in other words by an intrigue on their part.

May 27th.—The House of Commons met to-day for the first time since the holidays, and chose Mr. Shaw-Lefevre as Speaker by a majority of 18 votes against Mr. Goulburn, the Tory candidate.

May 31st.—Lord Brougham has made a very clever and bitter speech against the Government. He reproached them with having given the Queen treacherous and unconstitutional advice, and with having circulated lies all over the country, which, though they were contradicted by Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, were repeated by their friends. He attacked O'Connell, and said if the Government leaned upon him for support they deserved the contempt of the country, but if they raised him to the Bench they deserved to be impeached. His speech was the most damaging to the Government of any made this session.

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Lord Melbourne bore it good-humouredly, and made a Conservative declaration which will probably lead to his again resigning, as the Radicals are almost sure to throw him over.

June 7th.—We went to the Opera. Heard Mario di Candia, an officer in the Piedmontese army, of noble family, who has taken to the stage. He has a beautiful-toned voice, but not strong enough to fill the theatre, and his style and execution are unfinished; but as he is still very young he will probably improve both in his acting and singing.

June 18th.—Mr. Grote's motion for the ballot was negatived by a majority of 333 votes to 215. Lord John Russell and Lord Howick both voted against the motion.

July 4th.—Lady Flora Hastings is dying, and the dinner at the Palace put off in consequence. The Ministers are becoming more unpopular every day; even the Duke of Wellington is losing all patience, and made a violent speech on the subject of the late riots at Birmingham. He said, alluding to the mob having plundered several houses and burned the property in the streets, 'I have often been present at the sacking of towns, but I have never seen any town treated like Birmingham.' He accused the Government of not having taken proper precautions to prevent these outrages, for they knew the town had been in a state of insurrection for the last ten days. He also said the conduct of the magistrates—most of whom had been appointed by Lord John Russell, and some illegally, not having been submitted for the approbation of the Queen or recommended by the Lord-Lieutenant of the county—was most reprehensible, and ought to be inquired into. This put

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Lord Melbourne on his mettle, and he made a very angry speech, to which the Duke alluding the following day, I believe, said: 'The noble lord ought not to get into those towering passions.'

June 27th.—The Capitan Pasha has revolted against the Turkish Government, and has sailed with the whole of the fleet to join the Egyptians, who, it is believed, will march upon Constantinople, unless the European Powers interpose.

August 9th.—The House of Lords have passed the Penny Postage Bill without a division.

August 14th.—We sailed for Dundee from Wapping, and arrived there after a very rough passage; from thence to Lord Kinnaird's country seat—Rossie.

August 30th.—Poulett Thompson is going as Governor to Canada.

September 4th.—I am just returned from Lord Eglinton's Grand Tournament, given at his castle, in Ayrshire. Nothing equal to it has occurred for many years, and the expense to him must have been enormous. Besides filling his castle with all the rank and fashion of the day, he quartered an immense number of guests at his farm-houses. It may be said all London, if not all England, was there. The actors in the pageant were chosen from the finest young men in society, and the women from the greatest beauties of the day. Lady Seymour was elected Queen of Beauty, and certainly deserved her throne. The horses mounted by

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the knights and their attendants were all picked animals, and nothing could exceed their gorgeous trappings and the arms of their masters. Two banquets were given in the great hall, and balls afterwards, but the badness of the weather, as it rained two out of the three days, injured the show. The principal knights who performed in the lists were Prince Louis Napoleon, then in exile, and his faithful squire, Persigny, Lord Waterford and his stalwart brothers, Mr. Gilmour, the celebrated horseman, and Lord Eglinton himself, in a cuirass entirely inlaid with gold. I never saw a more general display of gaiety and enjoyment than that which prevailed during the whole of this splendid pageant, given by one of the most generous and popular men in Great Britain.

November 22nd.—The Queen's marriage is to be announced to-morrow. The Duke of Wellington has been ill—report says, alarmingly—but I hope it is exaggerated. His illness seems to have been occasioned by over-fatigue.

November 24th.—The Queen's Speech announcing her marriage is as follows:—'I have caused you to be summoned at the present time that I may acquaint you with my resolution in a matter which deeply concerns the welfare of my people and the happiness of my future life. It is my intention to ally myself in marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg Gotha. I have thought fit to make this resolution known to you at this early period in order that you may be fully apprised of a matter so highly important to me and my kingdom, and which I persuade myself will be most acceptable to my loving subjects.' The announcement was received with great enthusiasm.

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January 7th.—The accounts from Algiers are most unfavourable to the French. Though not positively defeated by Abd-el-Kader, they are completely hemmed in by his army, obliging them to abandon all their camps and outposts, and take refuge within the walls of the town. Accounts have arrived of an affray at Macao between the English and the Chinese, which ended in the former being expelled from China. We must, of course, go to war with them; but for the present there is an end of our trade, and tea will soon become extremely scarce, if it does not altogether fail. In the Queen's Address announcing her marriage, she made no allusion to Prince Albert being a Protestant. The Duke of Wellington proposed an amendment to insert the word 'Protestant' before that of 'Prince,' and, notwithstanding the opposition of Lord Melbourne, the amendment was carried without a division. Peel proposed no amendment to the Address in the Commons, but Sir J. Buller gave notice of a motion of want of confidence in the Ministers for the 28th. A meeting had been held at Sir Robert Peel's house, where this motion had been decided on, and the announcement of it by Peel was greatly cheered.

There is a report that the Chartists meant to set fire to London on the night of the 14th or 15th, in consequence of which troops are kept under arms all night, and the police and fire brigade ordered to be in readiness to act at a moment's warning. The riots at Sheffield have been of an alarming character. The intention of the Chartists was to

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fire and plunder the town, and there is little doubt they would have succeeded in their plans, as they were well arranged, and they had a clever leader of the name of Holdbury, but fortunately their delegate at Rotherham got frightened and disclosed the whole plot to Lord Howard. Troops were stationed at all the entrances to the town, and the rioters, seeing their plans discovered, ran away after firing a few shots. Several were arrested.

January 18th.—It is curious that no mention has yet been made of the settlement for the Queen's marriage. It is the more extraordinary as Parliament has been assembled a fortnight earlier than usual for that purpose. It formed the first paragraph in the Queen's Speech, and it looks rather as if the Ministers feared the result of the division on Buller's motion, and foreseeing the possibility of being forced to resign, intend to leave the trouble to the Tories of making all the arrangements. Frost, Williams, and Jones are sentenced to death for leading the riots in Wales, at Newport; and several others to confinement and transportation.

January 23rd.—Prince Albert's Naturalisation Bill has passed the House of Lords without discussion. Lord John Russell has given notice that Ministers intend to ask the House of Commons to grant 50,000*l.* per annum, and Hume immediately intimated that he would move an amendment to the effect that 21,000*l.* would be sufficient.

January 24th.—Lord Stanley writes to me a few lines at Heron Court, and says that the Ministers expect a majority of nineteen on the 28th, but that must depend upon the

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elections this week and also how the extreme Radicals mean to vote. Went out shooting with Lord Canning.

January 25*th.*—Mr. Wood, the Ministerial candidate, has been returned by a majority of 524 for Southwark.

January 26*th.*—Mr. Tufnell has been returned for Devonport by a majority of 332; and the Solicitor-General by one of 9 for Newark. In the latter town serious riots occurred, and the authorities were obliged to call out the military. Mr. Thesiger was beaten. At Birmingham Mr. Muntz has been returned over Sir Charles Wetherell.

January 27*th.*—Lord John Russell has admitted that the expense of Prince Albert's household would not exceed 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.*; such a large sum, therefore, as 50,000*l.* is unnecessary.

January 28*th.*—Left Heron Court this morning for London, where I shall remain till after the division on Sir John Buller's motion; and if by any chance, which is I fear very unlikely, the Government should have a majority under ten, I shall probably remain a few days longer to see the event, which must be either a dissolution or resignation.

January 29*th.*—On Monday last the House of Commons went into committee in consideration of the proposed settlement on Prince Albert. Mr. Hume made a long speech, and moved that the grant should be reduced from 50,000*l.* to 21,000*l.*, the amount allowed to the Royal Dukes. On a division the motion was negatived by a majority of 267—the numbers being 38 for and 305 against the proposed

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reduction. Colonel Sibthorp then moved that the allowance should be 30,000*l.*, and Russell, in supporting the original proposition, insinuated that the opposition to it evinced a want of respect for the Queen. Lord Eliot and Sir James Gordon denied this; Hume advocated the smallest grant and O'Connell the largest. Sir Robert Peel expressed his astonishment at the insinuation that had been thrown out of the want of loyalty on his side of the House, and said it was unworthy of Lord John Russell's position as a Minister. He himself had nothing in view but to support the honour and dignity of the Crown by guarding it against the unpopularity that would follow this grant. Peel concluded by saying that he was resolved not to enter into a party contest of who should go farthest to please the Court; that he had no difficulties to reconcile on the subject of his loyalty; that he had never made the Sovereign's political support a condition of his allegiance; and that he had never been guilty of disrespect either to the Queen or Royal Family, and could afford to take his own straightforward course without needless professions of the loyalty he felt. The House divided on the resolution, and there was a majority of 104 in favour of 30,000*l.*—the numbers for the proposal of the Government being 158, and against it 262. In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor moved the second reading of the Prince Albert Naturalisation Bill, observing that one of the objects of the bill was to give Prince Albert precedence next after the Queen. The bill was framed on the precedent of Mary and Philip, but the Duke of Wellington condemned the proposals of the bill, particularly the precedence clause, and after some conversation the second reading was postponed until Friday next, the 31st.

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February 2nd.—The division on Sir John Buller's motion took place yesterday, and the Ministers had a majority of 21 —287 for the motion, 308 against. Sir Robert Peel's speech was very fine, lasting three hours, but it was not so effective as Lord Stanley's. In the House of Lords the Lord Chancellor, in answer to a question, said he intended to introduce a clause in the Naturalisation Bill giving Prince Albert precedence after the heir-apparent to the throne. After some discussion the bill was read a second time and ordered to be committed on the 3rd. General Sebastiani is recalled.

February 5th.—In the House of Lords yesterday Lord Melbourne said he was so anxious to get the Naturalisation Bill passed, that, to prevent opposition, he would withdraw the precedence clause; and added, in answer to Lord Brougham, that it was not intended to withdraw it altogether, but only for the present. Lord Brougham asked whether the Crown intended to make any attempt to give precedence to Prince Albert without an Act of Parliament, but no answer was given. The Bill was then read a third time and passed. Colonel Sibthorp in the Commons moved that the annuity granted to Prince Albert should cease in the event of his surviving the Queen and not residing six months in every year in England (this in consequence of Prince Leopold's re-marriage and compensation), or in case he married a Catholic or ceased to profess the Protestant religion as by law established in these realms. Sir Robert Peel opposed the motion, and persuaded him to withdraw it. The French papers give as the reason for Sebastiani's recall that, connected as he had been with the Bonaparte family, he would not keep as active a surveillance over Prince Louis

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Bonaparte, now in England, as was desired by the French Government.

February 10*th.*—The marriage of the Queen with Prince Albert took place to-day. The title of Royal Highness has been conferred upon him. The Duke of Sussex gave her away, and the 'John Bull' says that he is always ready to give away what does not belong to him. There were only two Tories present at the ceremony, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Liverpool. The Queen was very much cheered by the mob on her way to and from the chapel. They left Buckingham Palace for Windsor.

February 18*th.*—The Duke of Wellington has been ill, but is much better. A large number of Peers and members of the House of Commons went to Windsor with the Address congratulating the Queen on her marriage.

February 23*rd.*—The French Chamber has rejected the Duke de Nemours' Dotation Bill. M. Guizot was to have set out to-morrow for London, but this event may probably delay his departure. Louis Philippe has not yet formed a Ministry. It is not known whether he has accepted the resignation of Soult and his colleagues.

March 3*rd.*—Prince Louis Bonaparte was to have fought this morning with Count Léon, who has been sent over here by the French police, either to get rid of him or to get him expelled the country by inducing him to infringe the laws. This villainous project was defeated by the interposition of our police, who took all the parties before a magistrate, and they were bound over to keep the peace for a year under a

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penalty of 500*l.* Count d'Orsay was to have been second to the Prince.

March 30th.—We dined at the Palace. The Queen entered the room at eight, shaking hands with all the ladies, and then went into the dining-room with the Prince. After dinner the Queen and the Duchess of Kent went into the gallery, where the rest of the company were assembled. The Queen danced the first dance with the Duke of Devonshire, and valsed afterwards with Prince Albert, but the band played so fast and out of time that she only took one turn and then sat down, looking annoyed. We remained till the Queen retired, which was about 1.30.

April 2nd.—The debate upon the Corn Laws was adjourned, and it is supposed will last two nights longer at least, and it is said will be adjourned again, as the Government hope to get rid of the China question, which would come on if it were not.

April 4th.—The Corn Laws debate has terminated in the most unexpected and absurd manner. As soon as Sir Robert Peel had sat down, having made a splendid speech, Mr. Warburton, fearing probably the result of an immediate division, rose and moved the adjournment of the debate till Monday next, when there voted for 129, and against 245, giving a majority of 116. Mr. Warburton then moved the adjournment of the House, the Speaker put the question, and the Conservatives, amidst loud laughter, shouted 'Aye,' and the motion was carried. The Corn Law question is therefore at an end for this year.

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April 9th.—Went to the Drawing Room. Amongst the company was Mrs. Lushington, *veuve* Carnac, who last year married a man young enough to be her grandson. They are now separated, and she was presented this year in her former name of Mrs. Carnac. She was Indian, and very rich. Left London for Cassiobury.

May 1st.—There was a tremendous row last night at the Opera to force Laporte to engage Tamburini. He came forward five or six times to explain, but the audience would not listen, and he was obliged to retire amidst the groans of almost everybody present. The occupants of the boxes and stalls were the most active in the disturbance, especially gentlemen in the dandy and stage boxes. The row began immediately after the opera was over, and lasted till one o'clock. The ballet would begin, but would not be allowed to proceed, as every time the orchestra attempted to play, and the dancers came forward, they were assailed with such a chorus of cries that they were obliged to give up the attempt. They, however, enjoyed the treatment which was conferred on their manager, and they were all laughing, and seemed much amused at the treatment he received. The gentlemen in the stage-boxes, who had been the ringleaders throughout the evening, sprang upon the stage and lowered the curtain. They were not, however, quick enough to get beyond it before it fell, and were therefore obliged to cross the stage to gain the scenes, amidst the applause of the rest of the audience.

May 6th.—All London is in a state of consternation that I never saw equalled, Lord William Russell, brother to the late Duke of Bedford, and father to Mrs. Bennett, having

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been found murdered in his bed this morning. It appears that the housemaid went downstairs at half-past seven to her work, and found everything in great confusion—plate, clothes, and furniture scattered about the staircase and hall, doors broken open, &c. She immediately called the valet, who slept in a room adjoining that which she and the cook occupied, and acquainted him with her suspicions, upon which he accompanied her into Lord William Russell's bedroom, whom, on opening the shutters, they saw lying dead in bed with his throat cut in such a dreadful manner that his head was nearly severed from the body. They then came downstairs and gave the alarm, and the police and surgeon were sent for. The latter declared Lord William must have been dead for three or four hours; and, from the nature of the wound and the fact of no instrument being found with which it could have been inflicted, it was clear he had not committed suicide, but had been murdered. The police examined the house, but could not find any appearance of anyone having forced an entrance, as the marks on the back door had evidently been done from the inside, and they thought as a blind. The way also in which the different things were strewn about looked more like design than the confusion that would have prevailed after thieves had been disturbed. A chisel corresponding exactly with the marks on the drawers which had been forced open was found in the valet's box, and though the police say they are sure he is guilty, the evidence is not strong enough to convict him, and the coroner's jury therefore returned a verdict of murder against some person or persons unknown. The police are to keep a strict watch over him, and, if he is guilty, as they suppose, they hope by allowing him to remain at large he may do something to criminate himself. It is supposed

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from different circumstances that the murder must have been committed at about two in the morning.

May 8th.—Lord William Russell's house was searched again this morning. One of the two bank notes that the valet mentioned as having seen in a box at the head of his master's bed, for 10*l.*, was found behind the skirting-board in the pantry. The valet, whose name is Courvoisier, showed the greatest uneasiness when it was proposed to search the pantry, which of course made the police more particular in their investigation, and when the fact of the note having been found was mentioned to him he became quite ill.

May 21st.—The division upon Lord Stanley's bill[1] took place this morning, and the result was a majority of three in favour of the motion 'That the Speaker do leave the chair'—the numbers being 301 for and 298 against. Lord Howick and Mr. Charles Wood voted with Lord Stanley.

May 22nd.—Courvoisier was again examined to-day, and a good deal more evidence was brought forward as to the extreme agitation of his manner after the discovery of the murder. The instrument has not been found, but a pair of gloves spotted with blood were discovered in his portmanteau, which must have been placed there by him after the search had been made by the police, for everything in the portmanteau was turned out, and they were not there. But as Courvoisier was allowed to sleep alone two nights after the murder he might have placed them there, thinking that as he had been already searched it was the safest place.

May 23rd.—The Cambridge and Ludlow elections have

[1] The Irish Registration Bill.

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ended in a triumph for the Conservative candidates. The examination of Courvoisier was resumed to-day, but, with the exception of two handkerchiefs stained with blood, both marked with the initials of Lord William Russell, nothing of any great importance came out. It is quite evident that no one could have broken into the house, and this of course implicates those inside, as they must have either done it themselves or permitted others to enter for that purpose. The different things that have been found belonging to Lord William Russell must also have been concealed by some one constantly in the house; as they were concealed with so much care, it is evident the different hiding-places had been prepared beforehand. The boards of the pantry were taken up, and a sovereign was found under one of them which could not have slipped in between the crevices, as the boards fitted quite close. It is evident the boards under which it was placed must have been lifted and then fastened down again, for it was found necessary to have regular workmen to take them up. A locket was also found under the hearthstone in the pantry. The prisoner is remanded until next Wednesday, the 27th.

May 26th.—Mr. Villiers's motion for a Committee on the Corn Laws was defeated by a majority of 300 to 177.

May 27th.—Courvoisier was again examined to-day, and committed to take his trial. No further evidence was produced, and it is said if no more can be procured he can't be hanged, as, though no doubt can exist of his guilt, there is not sufficient legal evidence to convict him.

June 10th.—Mr. Smythe rode up to me in the Park and

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said the Queen had just been fired at as she was leaving Buckingham Palace to take a drive. The man who fired did not attempt to escape. The Queen showed great courage, as she always does, and went immediately to the Duchess of Kent to inform her of her safety.

June 12th.—The House of Commons divided last night on the amendment proposed by Mr. Charles Wood,[1] and the motion for the Speaker to leave the chair on Lord Stanley's bill—having for its object to postpone the Irish Registration Bill of Lord Stanley, and to give precedence to the sham measures of the Irish Solicitor-General and Lord John Russell—was supported by the whole strength of the Administration, the numbers being, for the Ministerial amendment 195, against 206; giving a majority of 11 against the Ministers. The Corn Laws were discussed in the House of Lords, and Lord Fitzwilliam's motion for an inquiry rejected. The missing spoons in Lord William Russell's house and two gold and silver ear-trumpets have been discovered. It appears that Courvoisier left a parcel a week or a fortnight before the murder in the care of Charlotte Piolini, who keeps the Hôtel de Dieppe, in Leicester Square, desiring her to take charge of it for a few days. He never returned, and the day before yesterday she sent the parcel to her solicitor, who opened it in her presence and in that of some other persons, and it was found that it was the missing property that had been advertised by the police. She also identified Courvoisier as the person who had left it. Although under a different name, he had lived in her service about a month four years ago, and since that she had not seen him.

June 20th. –Courvoisier's trial concluded to-day. He was

[1] Afterwards Viscount Halifax.

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found guilty of the murder and sentenced to death. He confessed afterwards having committed the crime because Lord William Russell found him stealing. He did it with a carving-knife.

June 21st.—Courvoisier was induced to confess his crime in consequence of the discovery of the plate, for as soon as he had seen Mrs. Piolini, who identified him as the person who had left it at her house, he sent for Mr. Phillips, his solicitor, and confessed his guilt. He said Lord William had been taken suddenly ill after he went to bed, and in going downstairs caught him packing up the plate. He taxed him with intending a robbery, and threatened to call in the police, but on begging his pardon he after some altercation forgave him, and promised not to prosecute him, but told him to leave his service the following day. The villain added: 'His Lordship and I then parted quite comfortably,' and Lord William went to bed unsuspicious of the fate that awaited him. Courvoisier waited an hour at his door until he was sure he was asleep; then he went gently into the room and cut his throat while he slept. He says Lord William never awoke, and must have died with little or no pain, as he did not struggle at all, and there was only a slight tremulous motion of the right hand, which he raised almost involuntarily.

June 25th.—Lord Stanley has gained another victory over the Government, Lord Morpeth having proposed an amendment to the Irish Registration Bill, and when a division took place he was beaten by a majority of four.

July 6th.—Courvoisier was hanged this morning. I went

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to see the execution, and was admitted into the condemned cell, where he was praying with the clergyman, and I followed the procession to the scaffold, which was erected on the outside of the prison. He showed great firmness, and though very pale seemed perfectly composed even to the last moment. Several of the City authorities were assembled in the room of the prison, and I was not a little shocked to see punch, or some beverage of that sort, handed round, as if it was a pleasant festivity. It seems to be the custom, and the sooner it is abolished the better.

July 7th.—Lord Stanley has given up his Irish Registration Bill, but announced that he will bring it on next year at an early period of the session, upon which Lord John Russell withdrew his sham measures for the Irish and English Registrations amidst the laughter of the House.

August 1st.—The French are very indignant with this country, and threaten us with war because Lord Palmerston, finding that he could not induce them to take any steps towards a settlement of the Eastern Question, has signed a treaty with Russia, Prussia, and Austria, leaving out France altogether.

August 7th.—News arrived this morning of Louis Napoleon having landed yesterday morning at Boulogne with fifty followers. None of the soldiers, however, having joined him, the attempt totally failed, and he and most of those who accompanied him were taken. This explains an expression he used to me two evenings ago. He was standing on the steps of Lady Blessington's house after a party, wrapped up in a cloak, with Persigny by him, and I observed to them,

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'You look like two conspirators,' upon which he answered, 'You may be nearer right than you think.'

August 8th.—The mad attempt of Prince Louis Napoleon at Boulogne is confirmed. He had hired a steamer from the Commercial Company, called the 'Edinburgh Castle,' for a fortnight. He embarked at London on the 5th; and on Thursday, the 6th, landed at Vimereux, a mile from Boulogne, with fifty followers. He marched to the barracks, and tried to seduce the soldiers from their allegiance, but having failed in consequence of the accidental absence of the officer on guard, who was in the plot, the soldiers at the barracks remained faithful, and the National Guard being called out, the Prince and his followers were obliged to fly. They had taken possession of the life-boat, which was swamped, and the Prince was picked up by a steamer while clinging to a buoy a short distance from the shore. The Custom-House officers, fortunately for him, had seized the vessel whilst the disturbance was proceeding on shore, and were bringing her into the harbour, by which means his life was preserved. Some of the party made their escape by taking forcible possession of horses belonging to some English gentlemen, but were pursued and most of them taken. Some were killed by the soldiers after they had surrendered. The Prince had issued a proclamation to the French nation appointing Marshal Clausel chief of the troops at Paris, General Pajol and other officers and sub-officers to military appointments, and promising many recompenses. Ever since I knew the Prince he has a fixed notion, which nothing can eradicate, that he will some day govern France; and so strongly is he impressed with this idea that it is the only

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way to account for his repeated attempts under what appeared to be hopeless circumstances.

August 21st.—Received a letter from my father to say that Lady Pembroke had given the living of Wilton to my younger brother Charles, and that he has accepted it.

September 2nd.—Lady Pembroke and her daughters visited us at Heron Court. We went out with Mr. Grantley Berkeley's otter-hounds, which, although we did not kill, was very amusing in that wild country.

September 7th and *8th.*—News is in that an insurrection has broken out at Madrid, Lisbon, and also at Paris—the latter not serious. The French papers are very warlike in their tone, and if the news from the East be true, it will be very difficult to preserve peace. Commodore Napier has issued a proclamation inciting the Syrians to rebellion, and has also taken twelve or fifteen small vessels belonging to the Pasha of Egypt, old Mehemet Ali. The latter is very firm in his refusal to accede to the Quadruple Treaty, being, it is supposed, supported by France. Orders have been sent to Admiral Hugon, who commands the French fleet, which, if acted upon, a collision must occur, and war then becomes inevitable. News may soon be expected from China, if Mehemet Ali does not stop the mails, which he threatens to do.

September 11th.—The French papers continue very warlike, and the English Ministerial papers are the same. I think that peace will be preserved, as Louis Philippe is very much against any wars.

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September 17th.—The blockade commenced at Alexandria on the 1st, by Admiral Stopford. Several of the Pasha's vessels had been sequestered by the British naval authorities. His fleet, both Egyptian and Turkish, was drawn up in order of battle in the roads of Alexandria, and Admiral Hugon took command of the French fleet on the 26th. It appears that the blockade has been commenced before the expiration of the time allowed by the Treaty of London to the Pasha to refuse or accept the Ultimatum of the Powers. Count Walewski, who had been sent by France on a mission to Mehemet Ali, had left him to return to France. It is reported that he succeeded in persuading the Pasha to accept the terms offered by France.

September 27th.—There is no news from the East, and the report which was current on the 22nd that Mehemet Ali had agreed to the terms proposed by France, not being confirmed or alluded to in any way, is probably false. The tone of the French papers is more warlike than ever; great preparations are being made in all the ports of France, the fortification of Paris is begun, and the different fortresses are being put in a state of defence. The telegraph at the North Foreland says the Russian fleet of eighteen sail was off the Graveline Sands.

October 2nd.—Prince Louis Napoleon's trial is begun and excites no interest whatever. It is thought that the sentence will be confinement for life.

October 3rd.—The following important news has arrived from the East through France. The 'Prometheus,' which arrived at Beyrout on the 20th, announced that, after a

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bombardment of nine days, which reduced the town to ashes, it was evacuated by the Egyptians in the night, and the Allies took possession. The 'Oriental,' which quitted Alexandria on the 24th, makes known that the firman deposing Mehemet Ali had been communicated to him on the 21st, as well as to the Generals of the four Powers, who instantly struck their flags and retired on board their shipping. An attempt has been made to fire Sheerness Dockyard. H.M.S. 'Camperdown,' 120 guns, was set fire to in the basin by some incendiary. It was first discovered in a midshipman's berth, but it was extinguished after burning a locker. On a further search a well-laid train was discovered in the warrant officers' store-rooms, consisting of resin, oakum, and lucifer matches. The inquiry respecting the fire at Plymouth is still going on. The King of Holland has announced his intention of abdicating in favour of his son.

October 5th.—Three persons named Wright, Grigg, and Britt have been taken up on suspicion of attempting to fire the 'Camperdown.' The preservation of the ship as well as the dockyard, and probably the town, is entirely owing to an accidental circumstance. The ship had been visited as usual and reported 'all safe,' when just as the officers were leaving the yard, Mr. Henty, the ship's carpenter, remembered that he had left his umbrella behind. He returned to the ship, and on going down to the lower deck he perceived a thick smoke issuing from the cockpit, and at the same time heard heavy footsteps, although it was too dark for him to see the person. He instantly gave the alarm, and one of the firemen of the yard came immediately, and by his exertions and those of Mr. Henty, the fire was extinguished before it had done any serious damage, the fire casks and

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buckets being close at hand. It is said the Albanians are deserting fast from the Pasha's army and the Druses are arming. This attack upon Beyrout seems to have been solely for the purpose of keeping up communication with the insurgents in Syria, for the possession of such a miserable place could not have been of any other advantage to the English. A list of the fleet is given, which, including English, Austrian, and Turks, consists of twenty-eight sail, of which twenty-three are English. It is reported that the terms offered by the Sultan to the leaders of Mehemet Ali are as follows:—To Soliman Pasha (Colonel Selves) and his son the island of Cyprus for inheritance as a Pashalik; to Mahmoud Pasha the Pashalik of Tripoli; also an hereditary fief; and, lastly, to Sherif Pasha the remainder of Syria on a similar tenure—but that they have all refused and acquainted Mehemet with the proposals made to them. The French are perfectly frantic at the news of the burning of Beyrout, and threaten immediate war.

October 19th.—A reinforcement of a thousand Turks has arrived in two Austrian steamers with the newly-appointed Pasha of Syria. The only loss we have sustained is at Ghebal, whence the Marines were driven back by a most unexpected fire, having four men killed and thirteen wounded. When we took possession of the fort next morning the Albanians had evacuated it. It was a very strong fort, bomb-proof, and commands the road to Tripoli.

October 8th.—The rage of the French at our proceedings has not in the least abated. A schism has broken out in the French Cabinet on the question of war; four Ministers, with Thiers at their head, are for it, and four are against it.

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It is said that M. Thiers tendered his resignation to the King, who accepted it. Izzett Mahomet Pasha has been appointed Pasha of Egypt in place of Mehemet Ali.

October 11*th.*—The bombardment of Beyrout has been exaggerated. Not a shot was fired into the town, but only at the citadel. Ibrahim Pasha is in the neighbourhood of the camp and reconnoitred it on the 14th. His force amounts to fifteen thousand men, but the English have fortified their lines with cannon, and are, therefore, a match for him, though inferior in numbers.

October 16*th.*—Mehemet Ali has replied with moderation to the action of deposition, but was preparing to oppose an energetic resistance. He received the news with great *sang froid*, observing that such denunciations were nothing new to him; that this was the fourth, and he hoped to get over it as he had done the other three, with the help of God and the Prophet. He then ordered both his fleets to get ready to put out to sea, but the French Consul dissuaded him from committing such an imprudent act.

October 19*th.*—The Queen-Regent of Spain abdicated on the 12th. This is the second royal abdication within one month, and it is probable that this event will add to the difficulties that already existed towards the settlement of peace between England and France, as Lord Palmerston and M. Thiers are sure to take opposite views on this question as well as that of the East. The general opinion in Paris is that the Ministry will resign at the beginning of the session, and that M. Thiers will join the ranks of the *Gauche*, or ultra-Radical party. M. Guizot's arrival is anxiously ex-

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pected, and he holds in his hands the fate of the Cabinet. The deposition of Mehemet Ali having been made known at Alexandria, the Turkish officers refused to remain in his service.

October 25*th.*—The cause of quarrel between the King and Thiers arose from a paragraph that the latter wished to insert in the King's Speech, and which Louis Philippe objected to on account of its hostile tone, observing that it would be highly inexpedient to introduce into the discourse expressions calculated to alter the pacific character that the Eastern Question had within a few days assumed. Discussion on this point had been going on for some days, but at twelve last night the difference came to such a height that the Ministers resigned in a body and the King accepted their resignation. An attack had been made upon Ibrahim Pasha's advanced position, which was perfectly successful. The Syrians were coming in, and great desertion was taking place amongst the Egyptians. Sidon has been taken and the garrison made prisoners. From all appearances the affairs of Syria will soon be terminated; the insurrection makes progress, and fourteen thousand mountaineers have joined the insurgents. The Turks behaved nobly. Tyre and Tripoli have been taken. Sidon was defended by three thousand men, and capitulated after a battle of ten hours.

October 30*th.*—M. Guizot has accepted the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

November 1*st.* — The Allies have gained an important victory over Ibrahim Pasha, and are in possession of the greater part of the coast.

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November 6th.—The speech of Louis Philippe on opening the Chambers is extremely pacific, and, therefore, cannot please the French. We dined yesterday with the Tankervilles, and met Lord Lyndhurst, Mr. Smythe, Mr. and Mrs. Disraeli, and Count d'Orsay. Much struck by Mrs. Disraeli, who is a most extraordinary woman both in appearance and in her conversation. She was a widow with a large jointure and twenty years older than him, but he seems much attached to her.

November 8th.—News has been received from China, and gives an account of the capture of the island of Chusan by General Burrell.

November 17th. — The Sultan refused to revoke the *déchéance* of Mehemet Ali.

November 18th. — The ashes of Napoleon having been brought from St. Helena to Paris, their funeral took place on the 15th. It went off quietly. The procession must have been magnificent. The King was present, but made himself as little conspicuous as possible, and hardly anybody saw him, as he took no part in the procession and contented himself with receiving the body at the entrance to the church, after which he hid himself in a corner. The medical and law students followed the procession to the number of two thousand, singing the *Marseillaise* and shouting 'Guizot à la lanterne!' None of the Foreign Ambassadors were present, as Lord Granville refused, and all the others followed his example.

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January 27th.—The Queen opened Parliament in person, and was very well received on her way. Syria is spoken of, but not as settled, and the hope only expressed that its affairs will soon be terminated.

January 28th.—The Address was carried in both Houses without a division. Mr. Hume proposed an amendment censuring the Government for forming an alliance with the four Powers to the exclusion of France, but was not supported.

February 18th.—Lord Cardigan's trial in the House of Lords for fighting a duel with and wounding Captain Tuckett has ended in his acquittal, there not being sufficient evidence to prove the identity of the Captain.

February 20th.—It is said that Poulett Thompson has had a quarrel with Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, in consequence of which the latter has been recalled. The difference arose from a dispute respecting the disposal of some troops along the frontier, and as Poulett Thompson is not a military man the probability is that he was quite wrong.

February 24th.—The debate upon Lord Morpeth's [1] Irish Registration Bill began the day before yesterday. Lord

[1] Lord Morpeth was Secretary for Ireland.

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Stanley made a splendid speech opposing the second reading, and the House adjourned.

February 25th.—Debate again adjourned.

February 27th.—The second reading of Lord Morpeth's bill was carried.

March 12th.—News from America is very warlike. It is said that ten sail of the line are to be sent there immediately. The news from the East is also unfavourable, the Sultan being apparently disposed not to keep faith with Mehemet Ali. Affairs in China are not more prosperous. Great sickness and mortality amongst the troops at Chusan. Admiral Elliot has resigned his command.

April 10th.—The news from China is better. Admiral Elliot has concluded a treaty with the Chinese, after battering down the forts, which cannot be considered satisfactory, as he only stipulates for six millions of dollars as an indemnity for the opium dispute, which is equal only to a million sterling, whereas our first claim was three millions. He also consents to allow the Chinese six years for the payment of this sum.

April 14th.—Ministers will neither resign nor dissolve, in which case the Tories must propose a vote of want of confidence. The Chancellor, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Duncannon wish to resign, the others to dissolve or stay in. There is great excitement.

April 16th.—At this moment there is a meeting at Lord Aberdeen's, which is attended by Sir Robert Peel,

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Lord Stanley, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Henry Hardinge.

April 19th.—The long-expected division on[1] Lord Sandon's amendment took place this morning, and the result has surpassed our expectations; the Ministers being defeated by a majority of 36. There is very little chance of their resigning, as Lord John Russell, before the House divided, talked of discussing the question of the Corn Laws more fully.

April 20th.—Lord John Russell declared this afternoon in the House of Commons that the Government intend to go on as long as they can. The discussion on the Corn Laws is put off to June 3. They think that will carry them on to the middle of the month. They would then probably dissolve; and as Parliament could not meet before the end of July, they will prorogue it immediately, and thereby keep office till next session. This is supposed to be their plan, but some say that Lord Melbourne will resign, not being prepared to go so far as Lord John Russell, in which case the latter will be Premier. It may be, indeed, that Lord John Russell is intriguing to turn out Lord Melbourne in the same way as Lord Grey was pushed out by his colleagues some years ago.

April 24th.—Sir Robert Peel gave notice this evening that on Thursday next he would move: 'That Her Majesty's Ministers do not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through that House the measures which they deem to be of essential

[1] The present Earl of Harrowby.

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importance to the public welfare, and that their continuance in office under such circumstances is at variance with the spirit of the Constitution.' It is said that the Ministers are determined not to resign even if beaten on Peel's motion next Thursday, but to proceed with the Corn Laws and then dissolve.

April 26th.—I went to the Derby, and to a party given by Lady Salisbury, to hear Mademoiselle Rachel recite some scenes out of Racine and Corneille, and was much pleased with her. Her style is completely French, and therefore not very natural, but is the perfection of art. She is not handsome, but is very pleasing in her appearance and manners.

June 5th.—The Ministers have been defeated upon Sir Robert Peel's motion of want of confidence. The Opposition did not expect such a victory, but their majority is only one. The division took place at a quarter before three this morning, the numbers being 312 in favour and 311 against the motion. The announcement of the numbers was received with deafening cheers by the Conservatives, and the Ministers looked completely overcome. Lord John Russell grew very pale and nervous. When the division was over he gave notice that next Monday he would move for a vote of supplies to meet the present wants of the country, but said nothing about the Corn Laws, resignation, or dissolution. The news from China is favourable. Bogue Fort was taken on February 25, and Canton in March. The Chinese fought better than could be expected in defence of the town, which was taken by storm, with 400 Chinese killed or wounded.

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June 6th.—Went to hear the school children of Mr. Compton catechised. Some of the answers were very amusing. 'Who was Adam?'—'The eldest son of Abraham.' 'What countries are there in Europe besides England?'—'America and Asia.' 'What difference is there between town and country?'—'None.' 'What is an island?'—'Plenty of water.' 'Of what religion was St. Paul before he became a Christian?'—'A Roman Catholic.'

June 9th.—Lord John Russell announced the day before yesterday that the Government intended to dissolve Parliament immediately, proposing merely to take such estimates as were essential for the public service. Sir Robert Peel then rose and said he would oppose the granting of the supplies demanded unless Lord John Russell would declare that Ministers intended to advise the convocation of the new Parliament at once. Lord John Russell replied that the intention of Ministers was to advise the immediate summoning of the new Parliament, with which Sir Robert expressed himself satisfied.

June 16th.—I received a letter from Sidney Herbert desiring me to start immediately as a candidate for the borough of Wilton. He says that he has consulted precedents, but cannot find that in the memory of man anybody has ever put out an address for that borough, but that I must canvass it as exactly as if it were Birmingham, and I had Lord John Russell standing against me. Accordingly I shall start for Wilton to-morrow.

June 19th.—I completed a most tiresome and uninteresting canvass, there being no opposition to me; but it is

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an extensive borough, entirely agricultural, and necessitated long drives from one point to another.

June 22nd.—Parliament is to be prorogued to-day by the Queen.

June 23rd.—I received alarming accounts of my father's health.

June 25th.—The Proclamation dissolving Parliament appeared in the 'Gazette.'

June 26th.—I must attend Christchurch election in support of Sir George Rose; having previously declined the request of the electors to offer myself as a candidate.

June 29th.—I went straight to Christchurch, and arrived in time for the election proceedings. Sir George Rose was elected by a large majority. The City of London has returned two Conservatives and two Whigs.

Lord Sydenham to Lord Fitzharris.

Government House, Kingston:
July 13, 1841.

My dear Fitzharris,—I am in your debt for a letter, but it is so long ago that I cannot pretend to pay it. If I remember right, it was written shortly after *your friends* had made so unwise a move last year by the opening of the session, and by the rejection of their want of confidence vote fixed *mine* in the saddle for another year. This time the tables seem to be turned, though I rejoice at the course which the Government have pursued, even if it end, as I hear it will, in their discomfiture. Free Trade and Corn Laws are in my opinion worth fighting for, although I did not think Irish questions and Church reforms were. So though the result may be to place a Tory Government where a Whig one sits, I think it the

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dignus vindice nodus and the ring well established. Of course *you* will get all the counties, *we* all the great towns, and the small boroughs will be anybody's money. Neither party will, I daresay, get so good a Parliament as mine, nor be able to manage them as easily, for my assembly, though composed of elements of as little affinity as oil and vinegar, unite a good deal on one point—to do what I wish. So I am not sorry to be out of the turmoil at home. I shall have enough of it, I have no doubt, when your great battle is decided in August or September, and I find upon my return a renewal of it under the business session of 1841 and 1842.

I am delighted, however, to hear that, let what will happen, you are to be returned for Wilton, where the seat is sure and money need not be spent. I have always regretted that you are not in Parliament, where I am sure you will distinguish yourself, and where there is certainly a good opening for your doing so. You must have had enough, too, by this time of shooting and hunting, and want more interesting occupation. If the Tories come in I conclude that you will have some post offered to you. If so, and I may volunteer the advice of an old stager to you, I would strongly advise you to take only such a one as will give you business to do in the House, for your department at least—such as Under Secretary, or India Board if the President be a Peer. Otherwise, I should, in your situation, feel my way independently in the House, which no man who takes a Lordship of the Treasury or Admiralty can do: his hands and his tongue are both tied.

I am sorry to say I am almost done up, and very like an old foundered horse. The gout has played the deuce with my hands and feet, and I have no strength to walk, or move, or pull a trigger, so I shall dwindle down into a respectable old gouty proser, of which I am giving you a specimen beforehand by offering advice unasked.

. . . . . .

Yours, &c.

SYDENHAM.[1]

July 17th.—The news of my father's health is worse, and I fear there is little hope of his recovery. He has taken Lord de Grey's villa at Putney.

[1] Poulett Thompson, Lord Sydenham, had just been made a Peer, and soon after the date of this letter died in Canada from a fall in riding. He was a remarkably agreeable man.

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July 25th.—Lord Seymour moved the Address in the House of Lords yesterday. An amendment to the Address was moved by Lord Ripon,[1] representing dissatisfaction at the financial state of the country. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne, the Duke of Richmond and Lord Lansdowne spoke. After which the House divided, and there appeared for the Address 96, for the amendment 168—majority 72. In the House of Commons the Address was moved by Mr. M. Phillips, and seconded by Mr. J. Dundas. The amendment, which was exactly the same as that proposed in the House of Lords, was moved by Mr. James Wortley, and seconded by Lord Bruce. A debate followed, which was adjourned until the following day, and again adjourned on the 26th and 27th. The division took place on the 28th, and the Ministers were beaten by 91 votes; the members who voted for the Address were 269, against it 360. Mr. Sharman Crawford gave notice that he would move an amendment to the Address, and the Conservatives were desired to attend again at twelve. None of the Ministers were present, and Mr. Crawford's amendment was negatived.

July 29th.—The Government have resigned and Peel is Premier.

September 11th.—My father, Lord Malmesbury, died yesterday at Lord de Grey's villa at Putney, aged 63.

October 7th.—Canton has been stormed. The Chinese capitulated after losing about three thousand men, and agreed to pay six millions of dollars. But it appears that Admiral Elliot has agreed to take a much smaller sum than he ought

[1] Lord Ripon had been Prime Minister as Lord Goderich in 1827.

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to have asked for: which sum he immediately gave to the opium merchants without thinking of demanding money for the expenses of the war. This will cause additional expense, for the person who is sent to supersede him has instructions to insist upon the payment of sixteen million dollars, besides the whole of the cost incurred by England and the East India Company.

October 16th.—Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, who is engaged to Lady Sarah Villiers, has not yet returned, so the marriage is postponed.

October 18th.—There is such a tremendous flood in London that passengers were carried up the steps at Vauxhall on men's shoulders. From the accounts in the papers it seems that the insurrection at Madrid is suppressed. The attack upon the Palace for the purpose of carrying off the young Queen and her sister was defeated, most fearful fighting being carried on in the apartments of the Palace itself. The insurgents got so far into the building that the balls penetrated into the Queen's room, who was only saved by the gallant defence of a small body of men. After some time of hard fighting, Generals Concha and Leon deserted their men, who immediately dispersed and tranquillity was restored. The citadel of Pampeluna is still in possession of the rebels.

October 23rd.—The Carlist insurrection seems to be going badly for the Christinos. Don Diego Leon has been taken prisoner and shot.

October 30th.—In Spain the excitement is subsiding, so I hope there will be no war. The Spanish insurrection seems

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to be at an end, most of the troops who had joined the insurgents having returned to Espartero.

November 3rd.—A great fire has taken place at the Tower. The armoury has been destroyed, as well as a number of our trophies, nothing apparently having been saved but the Duke of York's sword and sash.

November 4th.—We drove from Tottenham Park to Littlecote, the scene of a very horrid story which Sir Walter Scott relates in his notes to 'Rokeby.' The boards in the room where the child was burned have been taken up and oilcloth nailed down over the floor. A large cabinet has been placed to conceal the fireplace, and all the curtains, out of which it is said a piece was cut, are destroyed. General Popham, a descendant of Judge Popham, who acquitted the murderer Darrell contrary to all evidence, and to whom the property was left, it is supposed, in consequence of an agreement to that effect between them, does not like any allusion to this story. He has done all in his power to obliterate the traces of the transaction. The house is a very fine old building in the Elizabethan style of architecture. The hall is large, with very handsome painted windows, the walls of carved oak hung with armour, buff jackets, and arms. It is, however, a very gloomy looking residence, and few people would like to live in it. Prince Nicholas Esterhazy has arrived at Middleton Park, Lord Jersey's place, bringing letters from his family to Lady Sarah, so the marriage will take place soon.

November 16th.—The Queen Dowager is said to be dying. Lord Saltoun is appointed to the command of the force sent to China, so that negotiations will give way to force.

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1842

January 1st.—The town of Amoy, in China, has been taken by our fleet, with only the loss of one man. The fortifications were so strong that our ships' guns made no impression on them, and after four hours' continual firing the town was taken by escalade. If the Chinese had had good artillery, or understood gunnery, we should probably have been defeated, as they would have sunk our ships long before we could have made any breach in their walls, which were of solid granite fifteen feet thick, and covered with a coat of mud and cement, which nothing could penetrate, of the thickness of two feet. Very little money was found in the town, the Chinese having carried it off in split logs of wood.

February 7th.—Sir Robert Peel has brought in his bill upon the Corn Laws, which is no less than taking off more than half the present duty. Nobody expected such a sweeping measure, and there is great consternation amongst the Conservatives. It is clear that he has thrown over the landed interest, as my father always said he would.

February 26th.—Mr. Villiers's motion for the total repeal of the Corn Laws has been thrown out by an immense majority—393 to 90. Mr. Christopher is to propose an amendment to Peel's bill to increase the duty upon foreign corn, and Lord Worsley intends to propose another for a still further increase of duty. My steward says that the landed

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proprietors will lose at least 15 per cent. of their rents by Peel's bill.[1]

February 27th.—Mr. Christopher's amendment to Sir Robert Peel's bill has been rejected by a majority of 306 to 104. Alarming news has been received from India. It is officially announced that our envoy, Lieutenant-General Macnaghten, and two officers who accompanied him, have been murdered by the son of Dost Mahomed during a conference to which they had been invited by the latter to arrange terms for the evacuation of Cabul. This treacherous act of course puts an end to the treaty; but since then it is reported that our troops, being nearly famished, without the chance of obtaining supplies or relief, all the passes around Cabul being stopped up with snow, and the town surrounded by a greatly superior force, attempted to cut their way through the Khoord Cabul Pass towards Jellalabad, to effect a junction with Sir Robert Sale; the whole, numbering five or six thousand men, was destroyed, the 44th Regiment to a man. Sixteen ladies, wives of the officers, were taken prisoners by the Afghans. General Elphinstone is said to be dead. Lady Canning called to confirm the news.

February 10th.—Letters have arrived from India to-day, and state that all the troops except about five hundred men, who were taken prisoners with General Elphinstone, were cut to pieces. The ladies, it was thought, would come off tolerably well, as Dost Mahomed's son's wife and children are in the hands of the English, and for their sake he will not injure them.

[1] Experience has shown that this is far under the mark.

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April 1st.—It appears that General Elphinstone, trusting Akbar Khan's promise of a safe-conduct to Jellalabad, and thinking he could no longer hold Cabul against the Afghans, left it on January 6. His troops were attacked almost immediately. General Elphinstone seems to have relied upon Akbar Khan's fidelity and honesty, and, not suspecting him of treachery or want of power to control his own people, allowed him to settle everything about the march and encampment of our troops. If he had pushed on as fast as he could, he might have reached Jellalabad as Sir Robert Sale did some short time before with an inferior force, but he seems to have been incapacitated by illness or age, and quite unequal to the circumstances, which required a man of unusual energy. He had been unfortunate in his career, as he was almost the only English officer taken prisoner at Waterloo. When he was summoned by Napoleon during the battle to give information as to our forces and resources, which he very honourably refused to do, the Emperor grew furious, and abused him before all his staff. Sale behaved like a hero, and when the summons to evacuate Jellalabad was brought to him he answered that, though he had more at stake than any man, having a wife and daughter (Mrs. Sturt) in the power of the Afghans, he would hold Jellalabad to the last, and that nothing but an order from the Council would induce him to give it up. Ghuznee and Kandahar are saved. Went with Lady Ailesbury to the Duchess of Cambridge's to settle about the quadrille for the Queen's Ball.

April 12th.—Started at eight for the Palace. The quadrilles were admitted by a private door and taken to separate rooms. The Duchess of Cambridge's set assembled in a large room below stairs. We were marshalled by our

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respective heralds, and proceeded, with the Duchess of Cambridge at our head, through the hall into the Throne Room, where the Queen received us, sitting on the throne, and surrounded by all her Court, in the dress of the time of Edward III. Most of the costumes were beautiful, and the whole arrangements very well managed. There were a great many people already arrived, but none were allowed to enter the Throne Room, which was perfectly empty with the exception of the Queen and her Court. When the whole of our quadrilles had passed her, they went through the gallery into one of the drawing-rooms, where we had to wait until the other quadrilles and the general company had arrived, after which we returned into the drawing-room, a few couples were selected out of each set, and dancing began. My partner was Lady Craven.

April 14th.—Dined at Lord and Lady Stanley's. A very pleasant party. The Clanwilliams, Mahons, St. Aulaires,[1] the Cannings, the American Minister Mr. Everett, Brünnow, Lord Aberdeen, &c. Mr. Everett, without waiting to be introduced, asked me how much beer-money I gave my servants, and seemed to think it was too much. He was dressed in a green coat, not a common colour for a dinner in London.

April 24th.—Went to a *bal costumé* at Stafford House, where almost everybody wore the dresses they had at the Queen's.

April 30th.—The Queen was shot at this morning on Constitution Hill, as she was returning to the Palace, by a man called Francis.

[1] M. de St. Aulaire was French Ambassador.

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June 6th.—The news from India is that Ghuznee has fallen, the garrison having been forced to capitulate for want of water. The Afghans promised to take them in safety to Cabul, but, as they have not been heard of since, it is feared that they met with the same fate as the Cabul army, and have been massacred. This bad news is somewhat counterbalanced by the success of Colonel Pollock in forcing the Khyber Pass, which he did most gallantly, though opposed by a superior force. Sale, hearing that he was marching to relieve Jellalabad, made a sortie with his whole force against the army that was besieging him, and after a brilliant action, that lasted the whole day, totally defeated the Afghans. There is, therefore, but little doubt that Colonel Pollock has succeeded in joining Sir Robert Sale. The conduct of Colonel Palmer in giving up Ghuznee is very much censured, and Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, is going to bring him and General Elphinstone before a court-martial.

June 16th.—The Duke of Orleans is dead. His horses being restive, he jumped out of his carriage, fell, and was killed on the spot. What will be the result of this sad event? Probably another rebellion as soon as the King dies, and the restoration of the Duc de Bordeaux. The French never will bear a regency quietly, and certainly not a long one, as this would necessarily be. The present King is sixty-nine, and the Comte de Paris only four years old. It will give the Republicans a chance. The Duke was carried into a shop close by, where the King, Queen, and royal family soon arrived, but he never recovered his senses for a single moment, and died in their arms. His body was carried to Neuilly and placed in the chapel, the whole royal

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family following the procession on foot. He was only thirty-two years of age, very handsome, clever and amiable, and liked by all who knew him. The army bitterly laments his loss. The poor Duchess of Orleans arrived at Neuilly after the Duke's death. She had heard of it at Plombières by telegraph, and set off for Paris in the middle of the night. At a few posts from Plombières she met the Duke's aide-de-camp, and then guessed the truth. She is reported to have said, 'I was too proud of him, and God has taken him away from me as a punishment.' He was certainly the flower of the flock. A *post-mortem* examination promised that he would have lived to a great age. The funeral is to take place at Notre-Dame.

June 28th.—Louis Philippe opened the session of the Chambers on the 26th, and after alluding to his calamity, he made a very peaceful speech on foreign affairs, but he broke down several times during his address.

August 25th.—There have been great disturbances at Manchester and throughout the whole of the manufacturing districts. The pretence was a strike for an advance of wages, but the real cause is political, and the whole insurrection excited by the Chartists and the Anti-Corn Law people. The troops were called out; some were brought from India, and a regiment from Ireland.

November 6th.—Peace is proclaimed with China. The capture and destruction of Ghuznee, in India, by General Nott took place on September 6; the defeat of Akbar Khan, at the head of sixteen thousand men, at Tezeen on the 13th by General Pollock; and the occupation of Cabul by that

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General on the 16th. The prisoners left at Cabul have joined the Indian army, and it is expected that the remainder who were taken away by Akbar Khan will be recovered in a few days. So the campaign in Afghanistan is quite concluded, and the army has returned in safety to India. Lord Ellenborough has issued a proclamation which is much abused by the saints. It is certainly an injudicious one, but I cannot agree as to its being irreligious or un-Christian-like. The gates of the temple of Sumnauth are given to the Hindoos; they are merely a military trophy taken from one Pagan nation and given to another, and none but those who are determined to cavil and find fault can view it in any other light. The Duke of Wellington, speaking in the House of Lords on the subject, said he looked upon it 'only as a song of triumph.'

1843

June 6th.—There was a report that Lord Stanley and Sir James Graham had resigned on account of Sir Robert Peel having given up some clauses in the Irish Arms Bill, but no one seemed to believe there was any truth in the rumour; though there certainly has been a disagreement between some members of the Cabinet and Peel on the subject. Many Conservatives think that Peel truckles to the Radicals and throws over his friends. Carmarthenshire is in a very disturbed state, and has been so for some time. A gang of four or five hundred men, led by a man in woman's clothes, under the name of 'Rebecca and her daughters,'

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have been pulling down turnpike gates and doing a great amount of mischief. No one can identify them, as they are all disguised and their faces blackened, most of them being armed. Most of the farmers, and even some of the gentry, are said to be in league with them. They burned the workhouse and committed other ravages.

July 2nd.—News from Spain states that Espartero has raised the siege of Seville, having bombarded and destroyed the greater part of the suburbs and commenced a retreat to Cadiz, where the 'Malabar' is placed at his disposal, and that the English and French are ordered to unite in assisting him to escape, as there is no doubt if he fell into the hands of his opponents—Republicans, Christinos, or Carlists—he would be put to death without mercy.

July 24th.—Espartero and his wife and daughter have arrived at Woolwich. He was very well received by the authorities, and expressed himself very grateful for the kindness and attention with which he was treated on board the 'Malabar.'

August 2nd.—Marshal Sebastiani has left London and gone to Eu to meet the Queen, so there is no longer any doubt about her intention of visiting Louis Philippe. I believe it will be the first time since Henry VIII. that an English sovereign visits France except as an exile.

October 12th. — I drove to Highcliffe and saw Lady Canning, who gave me an account of the expedition to Eu and Brussels with the Queen, with which she was very much pleased. The Queen did not go to the field of Waterloo.

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October 17th.—I hear that O'Connell and six others have been arrested for sedition. This is a good move of the Government, and will strengthen them, as for some time they have suffered the reproach of want of energy.

November 6th.—I arrived at Knowsley from Hooton, and found Lord Derby's keeper had been shot by poachers. Two men have been arrested on suspicion, and the poor man's case is almost hopeless.

November 17th.—The Duc de Bordeaux's visit to this country is beginning to assume a political aspect. He acknowledges that he came to see those friends who are still attached to him and his fortunes, and says that, though he will not disturb France, still if a change should take place, and he should be wanted, they will always find him ready. He said in talking of his visit to England, 'I went to Rome to see the south of France, and I come to England to see the north.'

November 19th.[1]—The Duc de Guiche called. He said that the Duc de Bordeaux is coming to London on the 25th, and he has taken a house for him in Belgrave Square. He has sent for his cook, and means to give dinners and receive two or three times a week. Lord Shrewsbury gave him a grand reception at Alton Towers, and had a party of eighty people in the house to meet him. It was continually changing, each person only staying two days. The Duc de Guiche, being a personal friend of the Duc de Bordeaux, was invited for the whole time of his visit. It must have been very

[1] Twenty-seven years after this date he was Foreign Minister to the Emperor Napoleon III., as Duc de Gramont.

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tedious, for each time the Duc went out of the house or returned to it cannon were fired.

December 12th.—The Government at Madrid has again been thrown into confusion, the young Queen having made a declaration that her Prime Minister, Olozaga, had forced her to sign a proclamation for the dissolution of the Cortes. She said that he first attempted to persuade her, but when she refused, saying that she would not do such an ungracious thing as dissolve an assembly that had just paid her the compliment of declaring her of age, he used menaces and very violent language to terrify her into compliance. She then got up and tried to escape by a private door that led into her apartment, but he anticipated her, locked the door, forced her back to her seat, and made her sign the paper by force, holding her hand the whole time. After his departure she made this statement, which was communicated to the Cortes. Olozaga denies every word, says it is a falsehood of the Queen's, and that there is not the slightest foundation for any part of the story; and adds, with great appearance of probability, that had he been guilty of such conduct, it is not likely he could have quietly walked out of the Palace through an ante-room filled with attendants and guards, who would have come to the Queen's assistance had she called out, and would have arrested him at the least word or sign from her. In the meantime he is deprived of his office and seat in the Cortes.

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1844

February 28*th.*—I went to Christchurch election, and hope that my brother will come in. He is opposed by a Mr. Harvey, who has been sent down with a large sum of money, and I hear that all the Dissenters, many of whom had promised to vote for my brother, and some to remain neutral, are going against him.

February 29*th.*—My brother is elected for Christchurch by a majority of a hundred.

April 25*th.*—I dined with Sir Robert Peel, who gave a great dinner for the celebration of the Queen's birthday. None but Peers were present.

May 23*rd.*—By Lord and Lady Canning's advice I have hired Cameron of Lochiel's place, Achnacarry, for the ensuing shooting season. I hear it is a beautiful place, with an excellent house. It was hired last year by Lord Douro.

June 2*nd.*—The Emperor Nicholas of Russia arrived yesterday unexpectedly, and went to Count Brünnow's, his Ambassador. The King of Saxony arrived at Buckingham Palace on the same day.

June 8*th.*—We went to a breakfast at Chiswick given by the Duke of Devonshire. The day was beautiful, and nothing could be prettier than the whole sight. The Emperor of Russia was there, with his circle around him. He is a magnificent-

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looking man, and remarkably handsome as to features, but appears older than his age, as he is stout and bald. His hair and moustache are fair, and he has rather a cast in his eye, but with a perfect profile. His manners are courteous and dignified, and rather like those of George IV., but with more dignity, and with nothing of the fine gentleman about him. He is supposed to have come over through some important political motive. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley were both there, as well as Lord Palmerston and all the diplomatic corps. The Emperor spoke chiefly to the Duke of Wellington during the breakfast.

June 15th.—Went to a party at Lady Palmerston's, where it was said that Peel has tendered his resignation. He is furious with those of his party who voted against him or stayed away. He persuaded the Conservatives to rescind their vote on Mr. Miles's amendment to the sugar duties, and the Ministerial proposal was carried by a majority of 22.

June 22nd.—At another party at Lady Palmerston's. There was a new lion, an Indian, called the Nizam of some place I forget. He is immensely tall and fat, and all the ladies were staring at him and pressing round him without the slightest regard to decorum, and I could not help thinking that he could not but have formed a very strange opinion of our English women. With his strict notions of propriety with regard to the conduct of the sex which all Asiatics possess, the manners of ours must appear to him the height of effrontery.

June 28th.—Left Chillingham Castle for the Highlands

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by Edinburgh and Glasgow, and embarked on board the steamer at Greenock. Stayed on deck the whole time, as, in spite of the heavy rain and wind, the heat in the cabin was intense, all the passengers agreeing in keeping the ports shut. We reached the Crinan Canal at midday, where, leaving the track-boat, we walked to the other end of it, about seven miles. The boat was crammed. This gave rise to a very absurd incident, for, as there was not room for each passenger to be seated in this barge, a number of women were obliged to stand between the benches, and the rope by which the boat was being towed having suddenly broken as we were entering a lock, the barge struck the side with great violence, and the whole row of women, a dozen at least, fell as if they had been shot one upon the other, amidst the roars of laughter of the rest. We were two hours passing through the canal, which has nine locks. We then embarked on board another steamer, the sea being quite smooth, and at five o'clock sat down to dinner in the cabin. We reached Oban that evening.

August 1*st*.—We were very glad this morning that we didn't go to Staffa yesterday, as the party who went there in the steamer could not land owing to the heavy sea, and were very ill. We left Oban in the morning, and reached Corpach, a small village on Lochiel, where we landed and took a conveyance to Achnacarry, ten miles, which we reached at 5 P.M. The house is excellent, and the country around quite magnificent. Loch Lochy is about a mile from the house, and Loch Arkaig less. The latter is fifteen miles long and about two miles wide in its broadest part. It is surrounded by mountains, the lower range nearly covered with the most picturesque woods of pine,

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birch, &c., of all sizes and ages. The trees not growing very close allow one to see the heather, fern, and rocks that cover the face of the mountain, which add extremely to the beauty of the scenery. Beyond these hills rise some much higher and more rugged, covered with rocks and heather and broken granite, and haunted by ptarmigan. Achnacarry is situated in a deep glen between these two lakes, and with a beautiful clear river rushing over rocks, forming cascades close under the windows. There are a great many woods round the house, and the hills on both sides of the valley are so thickly clad that there is splendid shelter, and I think the storms which later in the year sweep down from the mountains would not be much to be feared in the glen. Lord Ossulston and Mr. Parker went out deer-stalking. The ladies in a boat kept up with them, as they were on the opposite face of the mountain. At about a mile from the end of Loch Arkaig, but now almost covered with trees, is an island which was once the burial-place of the MacFies. A little farther on the river Maly runs into the lake, and a mile beyond that are the primeval forests of Gusach and Gerraran, where the heather is so strong that a walking-stick can be cut out of it, and the jungle so impenetrable that I have known a dead stag lost there as one might a partridge in a turnip-field. At the farthest end of the lake Scournahat rises in the shape of a volcano. The whole scenery is in such admirable proportion in reference to the mountains, forests, and water that it is certainly one of the loveliest combinations that can anywhere be seen. On the bank of the river adjoining the two lakes there is a beautiful glen called 'the Dark Mile,' and a magnificent waterfall. An excellent road runs through it and joins that to Fort William. There is a cave in the rocks in this valley, in

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which Charles Edward Stuart concealed himself after his defeat at Culloden in 1746. We found the traditions respecting his hair-breadth escapes still fresh in the memories of the Highlanders, it being just a century since the rebellion took place. We got excellent ponies and very intelligent gillies ready to be engaged at five shillings a week and food, but no doubt if the fashion of going to the Highlands increases, they will not be found for that price. The pines in this primeval forest are some of them twenty feet round, and stand like white skeletons that have died in their old age. The natural growth of these forests at one time must have been of oak, as some very large trunks are lying buried in the more recent growth of pine. One I found was sixty feet long, and completely embedded in the stratum of bog. It is what is called a 'hind forest,' stags not coming in till late in the year. We seldom went out without seeing eagles, and Lord Edward Thynne killed one as it was soaring above him with a rifle and a single ball.

August 31*st.*—Some of my party went up Ben Nevis, which took them exactly twelve hours, it being fourteen miles off. The greatest drawback to this beautiful country is the climate, which is so wet on this coast that it is said to rain 220 days in the year, and we found this unfortunately true.

September 2*nd.*—The French having occupied Mogador, Lord Aberdeen insisted on their immediate evacuation of it. Preparations for war are going on in all the dockyards. Lord Canning, Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office, writes to me after the bombardment of Tangier and says that for some days there had been every probability of war with

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France, but now he thinks the danger passed. The occupation of Mogador is since Lord Canning's letter, and will greatly complicate the business, as it is much worse to retain possession of a place than to knock it down.

September 12th.—Letters say that all danger of war is at an end. Prince de Joinville is ordered back to Neuilly, and the King, Louis Philippe, is coming over next month on a visit to the Queen. The latter is to embark for Scotland, and to live at Blair Athol, quite retired, whilst her castle at Balmoral is building.

September 22nd.—We accompanied the gentlemen and Lady Seymour to see the woods of Moich driven for deer. We went there in a boat, and then ascended the hill where we were posted. There we drew a blank. We then descended to the shore and mounted our ponies, when another wood was driven two miles farther on, in which two stags were seen, and in a third a stag was killed. The sun set before we descended the last hill, and I never saw such a glorious sight. The mountains on one side were of the richest purple, while on the opposite shore of the lake the woods were as black as ink. The rays of the sun were reflected in the most dazzling manner on Glen Maly and on the peaks of the mountains, which contrasted exquisitely with the intense darkness of the corries and the woods of Gusach and Gerraran. The scene was so wonderfully beautiful that everything else was forgotten, and during the short time that the vision—for I can call it by no other name—lasted not a word was spoken. We could only gaze in wonderment and admiration. I never saw anything so surprisingly lovely before, and never expect to do so again. We then returned

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home in the four-oar. The papers have been full of Louis Philippe's visit to Windsor. His reception has been most cordial wherever he went, not only by the Queen but by the people. The officers of the French fleet have met with a most enthusiastic reception at Portsmouth. The English officers gave them a ball and a dinner; healths were drunk and speeches made, and an immense quantity of humbug exchanged; but the French like that, so I hope it will put them in a good humour. The Queen has given Louis Philippe the Garter.

September 16th.—Left Achnacarry by Glencoe and Loch Lomond.

November 7th.—Dined with the Cannings and met Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Phillimore. We were curious to see the former, as he is a man who is much spoken of as one who will come to the front. We were disappointed at his appearance, which is that of a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic, but he is very agreeable.

November 30th.—Mrs. Portman and her sister, Lady Sale, and Mrs. Sturt,[1] the widow of an officer killed at Cabul, came to luncheon. The latter is pretty and very interesting-looking. I never saw a countenance that bore such evident traces of past sorrow. She does all she can to appear cheerful, but her gaiety seems forced, and I saw once or twice an expression of agony come over her face. She has a pleasant manner, and is wholly free from affectation; has a very graceful figure and a fascinating expression of

[1] This lady married again and returned to India, and was one of the first people murdered on the outbreak of the Mutiny.

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countenance when she talks and smiles, and does not look above eighteen. But suffering of mind and body have deprived her of the freshness of youth, and she is deadly pale. I was agreeably surprised in Lady Sale, whom I imagined to myself to be a tall, masculine, overbearing sort of woman. Far from this, she is not above middle height, with quiet, ladylike manners, very proud of her husband and of the number of enemies he has killed in battle with his own hand. She is very fond of India and delighted to return there, which Mrs. Sturt is not. We made Sir Robert Sale's acquaintance the same day at dinner, who, being ill with an attack of ague, could not come to Heron Court. He did not talk much about events in India, as his daughter was just opposite and would have heard what he said. He is a little man, with blue eyes and very white teeth, which a gentleman at table who was suffering from toothache said he envied him more than his victories.

1845

January 19th.—Heron Court. Edward Stanley, Lord Derby's grandson, arrived, and a good conversation about politics took place in the evening. He argued with great acuteness and good temper, possessing a remarkable fund of information, seeing that he is only nineteen. I am greatly mistaken if he does not distinguish himself much some day. He is of rather advanced opinions. Some important and ominous changes have taken place in the Government within this week. The first was occasioned by the death of Lord

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St. Germains, which removes Lord Eliot to the House of Lords and obliges him to resign the Irish Secretaryship. Sir Thomas Fremantle is appointed in his place; Mr. Sidney Herbert to be Secretary of War with a seat in the Cabinet; Mr. Corry to take his place at the Admiralty. Mr. Gladstone has resigned office altogether, nobody knows why, but it is supposed to be either upon the Church Act—not being inclined to go as far as Peel intends going on that subject—or on some question connected with trade and the sugar duties.

March 21st.—Good Friday. I went to Paris with Lord Ossulston.

April 10th.—The Queen has lost her keys, which she dropped out of her pocket as she was riding. As they were those of the Government boxes, the offices were in consternation at the idea of having all the locks altered. The day they were missed I was passing up King's Road when I saw Colonel Arbuthnot walking slowly in the middle of it with his eyes fixed on the ground. Behind him was a strong body of police and park-rangers drawn in a line across the road and looking down also. The effect was very absurd, and of course people amused themselves by giving false intelligence about the keys and sending them in all directions after supposed finders of the lost treasure.

April 11th.—Dined with Brünnow and the Duc de Broglie.

April, London.—I am just returned from the Castle of Ham, on the Somme, where I have been to see Prince Louis

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Napoleon in the prison, in which he has been confined since 1840. Early last January he sent M. Ornano to London to ask me to come and see him on a matter of vital importance to himself, bringing a small almanack for the year, with a vignette of the fortress of Ham painted in miniature on the cover. I was unable to go till now, and having obtained with some difficulty a permission from M. Guizot to see the Prince, I went to Ham on April 20. I found him little changed, although he had been imprisoned five years, and very much pleased to see an old friend fresh from the outer world, and that world London. As I had only half a day allowed me for the interview, he confessed that, although his confidence and courage remained unabated, he was weary of his prison, from which he saw no chance of escaping, as he knew that the French Government gave him opportunities of doing so that they might shoot him in the act. He stated that a deputation had arrived from Ecuador offering him the Presidency of that Republic if Louis Philippe would release him, and in that case he would give the King his parole never to return to Europe. He had, therefore, sent for me as a supporter and friend of Sir R. Peel, at that time our Prime Minister, to urge Sir Robert to intercede with Louis Philippe to comply with his wishes, promising every possible guarantee for his good faith. The Prince was full of a plan for a new canal in Nicaragua, that promised every kind of advantage to British commerce. As a precedent for English official interference I was to quote Earl Grey's in favour of Prince Polignac's release in 1830. I assured the Prince that I would do my best; but added that Lord Aberdeen was our Foreign Secretary, and that there was nothing of romance in his character. At this time Prince Louis was deeply engaged in writing the history

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of Artillery, and he took an hour in making me explain the meaning of several technical words in English, which he wished translated. He gave me a full account of his failure at Boulogne, which he declared was entirely owing to the sudden illness of the officer of the day whom he had secured, and who was to have given up the barracks at once. The soldiers had mostly been gained, and the prestige of his name in the French army was universal. To prove this, he assured me that the cavalry escort of lancers who accompanied him to Ham made him constant gestures of sympathy on the road. He then said, 'You see the sentry under my window? I do not know whether he is one of *mine* or not; if he is he will cross his arms, if not, he will do nothing when I make a sign.' He went to the window and stroked his moustache, but there was no response until three were relieved, when the soldier answered by crossing his arms over his musket. The Prince then said, 'You see that my partisans are unknown to me, and so am I to them. My power is in an immortal name, and in that only; but I have waited long enough, and cannot endure imprisonment any longer.' I understood that Count Montholon and Dr. Conneau, with his valet, Thelin, were his fellow-prisoners at Ham. After a stay of three hours I left the prison, and returned to London deeply impressed with the calm resolution, or rather philosophy, of this man, but putting little faith as to his ever renouncing the throne of France. Very few in a miserable prison like this, isolated and quasi-forgotten, would have kept their intellect braced by constant day studies and original compositions, as Louis Bonaparte did during the last five years in the fortress of Ham.

The day after I arrived in London I saw Sir Robert Peel, and related my interview and message to him. He seemed

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to be greatly interested, and certainly not averse to apply to the French Government in the Prince's favour on his conditions, but said he must consult Lord Aberdeen, which of course was inevitable. That evening he wrote to me to say that Lord Aberdeen 'would not hear of it.' Who can tell how this decision of the noble lord may influence future history?

May 11th.—Dined with the Hamiltons; nobody was there but the family. The Grand Duchess of Baden cross, as she wished to be godmother to Lady Douglas's child, but, being a Roman Catholic, the Bishop of London objected, and Lady Douglas was so annoyed that she would not attend the ceremony.

June 6th.—Started for the powder ball at the Palace. My costume, dark blue velvet coat, gilt lace; gold tissue waistcoat, pink satin shorts, and powdered wig. There was an immense crowd all through St. James's to the Palace. They were in high good-humour and pleased at our letting down the glasses and showing ourselves. The minuet was danced very fairly, no mistakes being made, the Queen being decidedly the best performer. After the minuet a quadrille was danced, after which we passed the Queen.

August 8th.—Lord and Lady Seymour went with us to Achnacarry. Lady Seymour used to go out stalking, and killed one of the best stags.

Achnacarry, August 19th.—The newspapers are full of accounts of the failure of the potato crop all over England and Ireland. It will be a sad thing for the poor this winter.

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Corn is also very high, another misfortune, which will probably be taken advantage of by the enemies of the Corn Laws to urge a further reduction of tariff. The French have sustained two defeats in Algeria. In the first a body of 450 men were cut to pieces by the Arabs under Abd-el-Kader, only ten escaping. In the last 200 men and five officers laid down their arms and surrendered prisoners of war.

August 24th.—We have had the most awful storm. The wind was so violent that nobody in the house could sleep, and the servants actually got up at three in the morning and came downstairs, fearing the roof would be blown off. This storm continued the whole of the next day, with heavy rain. I went down to the loch and was well repaid for it. It was impossible to see anything finer in its way. It was like a sea—immense waves of deep green tipped with foam breaking against the shore, and dashing the spray to an immense height.

October 25th.—We left Achnacarry with the Seymours on a fine bright morning.

October 30th.—Parted with the Seymours at York and went to Knowsley. Found that Lord Stanley had been called to London for a Cabinet meeting.

November 3rd.—Left Knowsley for Gayhurst, Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's place. Nothing is talked of in London to-day but the elopement of Lady Adela Villiers with Captain Ibbotson. Poor Lady Jersey is much distressed. Lord Stuart de Rothesay is dead. He was the Duke of Wellington's right-hand man in the Peninsular

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War, as Commissioner managing the Spaniards and Portuguese Juntas, which he did with great ability. Afterwards Ambassador at Paris.

December 11*th.*—Heron Court. My brother came down, bringing news of Sir Robert Peel's resignation. It is not yet known what occasioned this extraordinary and unexpected event, but it is supposed to be connected with the Corn Laws.

December 13*th.*—Sir Robert Peel has advised the Queen to send for Lord John Russell, which Her Majesty has done. He came in four years ago, professing to be a friend of the agricultural interest, and having six months ago declared positively that he would not vote for the abolition of the Corn Laws, as he thought the advantage which might be gained by the manufacturer would be more than counterbalanced by the mischief it would do to the agriculturist. He has now not only proposed the total abolition of those laws, and resigns office because the majority of the Cabinet is against him, but advises the Queen to entrust the formation of a new Ministry to Lord John Russell, thereby throwing the country into the hands of the Radicals, for no moderate Government under Russell, Grey, and Morpeth is possible.

December 15*th.*—Lord John Russell has been sent for by the Queen, but it is not yet known whether he accepts office; he is to give a definite answer to-morrow. It is said Peel proposed a total abolition of the Corn Laws, and was opposed by all the Cabinet except Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert. The Duke of Wellington came over next day, and with him all the rest except Lord

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Stanley, but the Duke afterwards repented and Peel resigned. He expected that the Queen would have made more difficulty about accepting his resignation than she appears to have done, for when he went down to Osborne House with his colleagues he told Mr. Gunnell, the inspector of the railroad, to keep a special train for him next day, as he did not think he would return with the other Ministers. But he came back with them, and his opinion was not asked as to who should be his successor.

December 19th.—Lord Canning writes that Lord John Russell is believed to have formed a Government, and that the ports are to be opened directly, wheat being only at 57*s.*

December 20th.—Nothing decided as yet. Lords Aberdeen and Lincoln, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert met on Friday at Sir Robert Peel's house.

December 21st.—Lord John Russell has given up the attempt to form a Cabinet, because Lord Palmerston insists on being Foreign Secretary, to which Louis Philippe objects. There is great diversity of opinion amongst the Whigs on the subject of the Corn Laws, many being against total repeal, and others for a fixed duty. In short, this dissension has ended in the Queen sending again for Sir Robert Peel.

December 25th.—Sir Robert Peel has resumed office with the same Cabinet except Lord Stanley, who remains out.

December 30th.—I went to a meeting at Christchurch called by the Anti-Corn Law party. There was a good deal of speaking, and the Radical party were defeated by three to one on a resolution which they proposed.

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1846

January 12*th.*—Heron Court. The Cannings arrived to-day. He evidently expects that Peel's Government will not stand, and, being Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he should know.

January 22*nd.*—The Queen opened Parliament to-day in person. Sir Robert Peel gave his explanation of the events which led to the dissolution of the Ministry and its re-formation in a long speech, half threatening and half apologetic. It was eloquent, but his cause is very weak and his position very pitiful. The statement was listened to in solemn silence by his own party, while it was occasionally cheered by the Opposition, which must have been very mortifying. Disraeli then got up and made a very clever and bitter attack, full of personalities and sarcasms directed against Peel, every one of which was received with laughter and cheers from both sides of the House. The Address was carried in both Houses without opposition. The Duke of Richmond and I spoke in favour of Protection, and were both cheered; rather an event in the House of Lords.

January 27*th.*—Saw Lady Stanley, who says her husband resigned for no other reason than his objection to Sir Robert Peel's policy on the Corn Laws. Sir Robert Peel has brought in his bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws. He proposes to keep a sliding scale, though reducing the amount of protection for three years, at the end of which time there is to be a total repeal of all duty on corn. He proposes at the same

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time to diminish the duties upon manufactures, one-half directly; but whatever amount of protection he leaves them now they are to keep at the end of three years, while the agriculturists are to lose theirs entirely. The compensation he promises them is a mere mockery, and will do more harm than good.

February 9th.—The debate on Peel's Corn Bill begins to-day. Mr. Miles made a good speech on our side.

February 14th.—The debate on the Corn Bill still continues, and no decision has yet taken place. Almost all the speaking has been on the agricultural side, Lord John Russell, Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Roebuck being the only Whigs of note who have spoken on the other.

February 15th.—I heard yesterday that Lady Powerscourt's marriage with Lord Castlereagh is settled. I am going up to London this morning at the Duke of Richmond's request to speak upon his motion for an inquiry into the burthen on land. Lord Beaumont also brings forward a motion to the same effect.

February 17th.—News from Algeria gives bad accounts of the state of the French army. Abd-el-Kader harasses them on all sides in a most indefatigable manner, and in a way which makes all their bravery and knowledge of war perfectly useless, for he never waits for their troops. His system is one of alternate attack and retreat, and as all the inhabitants are for him the French are never warned of any intended attack, but he falls upon them unexpectedly when they are least prepared, and then disappears as suddenly as

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he came, without their having time to do him any injury. In addition to this harassing mode there is a great deal of sickness in their army. It is said that the Duc d'Aumale is going out to take command, and that more troops are to be sent.[1]

February 18th.—Lord Stanley declares himself against Peel's bill, and for a dissolution. Peel is said to be very unwell, and has been cupped three times. He can think and talk of nothing but famine. Lords De la Warr and Forrester have resigned their Court places.

February 19th.—Returned to Heron Court from London, and saw Lord Stanley there, who is decidedly against Peel's measure, and though disinclined at present to take the lead of the Agricultural party, will certainly do so at some future period. He thinks that any attempt to form a Government at present from amongst our party would be premature, from the want of an experienced leader in the House of Commons, and the only way to rally and unite the party is in opposition. Therefore, the Whigs must first come in. The Duke of Wellington, though he supports the measure, is against it, and told Lord Stanley that his only reason for staying in and supporting Peel was for the sake of the Queen and the peace of the country. He deeply lamented that Peel had brought the measure forward, thought he was quite wrong, that he had broken up a noble party, and that it was for him (Lord Stanley) to rally it again, his own career was nearly ended, and that Stanley must be leader of the party. Lord

[1] The Duc d'Aumale defeated Abd-el-Kader, and took his camp. Abd-el-Kader was a prisoner in France until Louis Napoleon released him in 1853.

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Beaumont went to the Duke and asked him to grant him a committee for an inquiry into the burthen on land, and he first tried to persuade him to give it up, but finding him firm he said, 'Well, my good fellow, you must have it. I will not oppose it; I am quite of your opinion on the subject; it is a d——d mess, but I must look to the peace of the country and the Queen.' It is evident from his whole conduct lately this is his sincere opinion, for though he retains office he has never said a word in defence of Peel or his measure. He sits on the Government bench with his hat drawn over his face, apparently indifferent to all the attacks made on the Government, never saying a word in answer.

February 22nd.—Heron Court. The Cannings arrived. He supports Peel, so of course politics were not talked.

February 24th.—News has arrived from India of our having gained a great victory over the Sikhs, who were the aggressors, crossing the Sutlej and invading our possessions. Sir Henry Hardinge, Sir H. Gough, and General McCaskell advanced to meet them, and a battle was fought at Moodkee on the 18th, which was decisive, it having continued till the 22nd, when we stormed and took their camp with a hundred pieces of cannon. Our loss was dreadful. Sir Robert Sale was killed, also General McCaskell, Major Broadfoot, and Major Somerset, Lord Fitzroy Somerset's son. In all about 150 officers and about three thousand men were killed and wounded, a thousand of them being English. Many were killed in the enemy's camp, which was mined, and blew up when we had taken possession of it, and many others whilst engaged in burying the dead, through want of cavalry. We were only twenty thousand against sixty thousand, and

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had only fifty guns. Our troops behaved with the most desperate gallantry. The battle of the 22nd was fought at Ferozeshah. Sir Henry Hardinge, who is Viceroy, was present at both that and the engagement at Moodkee, having volunteered to serve under Sir Hugh Gough, to whom he afterwards addressed a despatch describing the battle. This at first sight seems absurd, but it was due in accordance with the etiquette observed on these occasions, this kind of despatch being intended as a public document. The army under the command of Sir H. Gough had marched 150 miles in six days previous to the battle of Moodkee, and on the same day had marched thirty miles. The men were exhausted with fatigue, and dying of thirst, without time to refresh themselves, when they were hurried into battle against fresh troops. These they repulsed, but with severe loss. They then bivouacked on the field of battle, and the next day entrenched themselves, expecting a fresh attack, but being recruited by two other regiments they advanced to the relief of Sir John Littler, who was supposed to be beleaguered in Ferozeshah by the Sikhs. Having effected a junction with him, they attacked the camp of the Sikhs, and the fighting continued the greatest part of the night. Next day the attack was again renewed and the enemy driven out.

February 24th.—After this the Sikhs advanced again with 30,000 fresh troops and numerous artillery, and though we had not a single gun to oppose them, and had made up our minds to be destroyed, they most unaccountably retreated, and since the date of the last despatch on December 25 they had not been heard of. Sir Robert Peel has sent a good report of his health to 'The Times,' saying that he has not been cupped and was never better in his life.

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March 9th.—There was a meeting of Peers at the Duke of Richmond's, at which Lord Eglinton read a letter from Lord Stanley advising as to the course to be pursued in opposition to Peel's bill, and promising his support to the Protection party. In consequence of this it was decided to look upon Stanley as the leader of the party, and to do nothing without consulting him. Lord Eglinton and I, who have been chosen Whips on this occasion, informed Lord Stanley of what had passed at the meeting that same afternoon in the House of Lords, and he was evidently very much pleased and flattered at the confidence reposed in him.

March 15th.—We took a box at the opera with Lady Seymour, and went afterwards to Lady Palmerston's. Mr. Sidney Herbert was there, and came up to me in a great state of excitement, saying that my conduct in leaving Peel was unworthy a gentleman, that the whole Protectionist party were a set of fools, and Lord Stanley the greatest fool among us, and that Peel was delighted at having got rid of us, &c. In short, he said everything that was most obnoxious. If he had not been in such a frantic passion I should probably not have been able to keep my temper, but there was something so absurd in his unprovoked attack that I retained perfect command over myself. It was certainly very extraordinary, as I had not spoken to him that evening, or seen him since he came to London, and had given him no provocation whatever. He is generally careful of what he says; in fact, he carries caution to that degree that he is famous for it. We met again at the tea-table that evening, when Mrs. Norton joined us, and by that time Mr. Herbert had recovered his good humour. He called on

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me this morning, partly to make up for his extravagant conduct last night, and partly to find out whether Lord Stanley meant to accept the leadership of our party. This shows the violence of party feeling at present, as Sidney Herbert and I have always been like brothers.

March 21st.—Lord Stanley is now established in the direction of the Protectionist party. He presented some petitions yesterday in favour of Protection, and took the opportunity of declaring himself against Peel's bill for repealing the Corn Laws. This will fix many waverers who have been inclined to vote with Peel though disliking his measure.

March 26th.—News has arrived of another great victory over the Sikhs. The battle took place at Aliwal, and the troops engaged were commanded by Sir Harry Smith. The Sikhs were much stronger in numbers and well provided with artillery, but we took their batteries at the point of the bayonet.

April 1st.—Another great victory over the Sikhs at Sobraon on February 10. The whole army, including Sir Harry Smith's division, which had joined Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge on the 8th, was engaged. They stormed the entrenchments of the Sikhs, taking about sixty cannon, and drove them over the river with great slaughter. There is now every probability that the war is ended, this last battle having been a very decisive one.

April 18th.—Louis Philippe has again been shot at when driving in the forest of Fontainebleau. No one was hurt.

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The English army entered Lahore on February 20 and occupied the citadel.

May 13th.—A great dinner at Lord Stanley's, who observed that it was a curious state of parties when a Liberal like Lord Bessborough whipped up the bishops to support the Duke of Wellington on a Free Trade question.

May 11th.—The third reading of the Corn Bill took place, and the numbers were—for the bill, 327; against, 229; majority for the Ministers, 98, being one more than for the second reading. Peel's position, however, has not improved, and the general impression is that he must resign before long. The treatment he received is truly humiliating, and I cannot conceive his submitting to it. The Whigs are in high spirits. The plan now seems to be to propose a fixed duty in committee, which, if supported by the Protectionists and Whigs, must be carried. Peel, who goes for the total abolition, will then be obliged to go out or dissolve Parliament, but it is probable that he will not attempt to prolong the struggle and will resign at once.

Lord George Bentinck to Lord M.

Harcourt House: May 16, 1846.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have set an engine to work to get Lord Hawke if possible. Lord Galway must be my instrument.

Disraeli made a wonderful speech last night; even O'Connell says it was the greatest speech he ever heard within the walls of Parliament.

Ever yours sincerely,

G. Bentinck.

May 18th.—Colonel Bowles called, and told me he saw Peel yesterday, who said he could no longer bear the

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treatment he received and had determined to resign. In the last night's debate on the Corn Bill Disraeli made a most violent attack upon him, which was cheered, not only by the Protectionists but by his own friends, who, though they voted for him, are very angry with him for getting himself and them into such a scrape. They now see they have gained nothing by following him. Nothing could be more violent than party feeling at this moment, especially between the Peelites and Protectionists, who seem to have lost all power of commanding their language.

May 22nd.—I have refused all pairs in the Protection party until after the second reading of the Corn Bill in the House of Lords.

May 23rd.—A great meeting of Whig Peers at Lansdowne House, at which they pledged themselves to support the bill. We shall therefore be completely beaten if they do not vote for the fixed duty. We expected after Lord Normanby had made overtures to us, through me, which were agreed to by Lord Stanley, that they would support our amendment. It is said the majority of the meeting at Lansdowne House were for voting with us, but they were overruled by Lords Clarendon, Minto, and John Russell, and are now pledged to vote for the total repeal. Many of the Whigs are much annoyed at this decision, and expressed themselves so to me.

May 25th.—The debate on the second reading of the Corn Bill began to-day, when Lord Stanley made a most splendid speech on the subject—extraordinarily argumentative and eloquent, and free from all personality. It had an immense effect, and was praised by all parties.

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May 27th.—On returning home from White's Club, a man ran over the street and stopped my horse, and at first I did not recognise him, but to my great surprise I saw Prince Louis Napoleon, whom I had left two months before as a prisoner in the fortress of Ham. He had just landed in England after his escape, and was going into the Brunswick Hotel in Jermyn Street. On the same day we dined with the Duke of Beaufort at Hamilton House, and as the party was sitting down to dinner I saw opposite me Louis de Noailles, who was one of the Attachés at the French Embassy, and said across the table to him, 'Have you seen him?' 'Who?' he asked. 'Louis Napoleon,' I replied; 'he is in London, having just escaped.' De Noailles dropped the lady who was on his arm and made but one jump out of the room, for it seems that the news had not yet reached the French Embassy. I never saw a man look more frightened.

June 4th.—The Government has been defeated in the House of Lords on a bill respecting Lord Hardinge's and Lord Gough's pensions. The Duke of Richmond moved that the pension proposed to be paid to their two next heirs should be paid to the present holders of the titles in addition to that given by the East India Company. The Government opposed this, and were beaten by 12.

June 15th.—The Duke of Buckingham moved an amendment to continue the protection to agriculture after a lapse of three years had taken place, but the Government had a majority of 33, and it was rejected.

June 16th.—Lord Winchilsea's amendment for a fixed duty was rejected by the same majority.

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June 25th.—The Corn Law Bill passed to-day without a division. Lord Stanley entered his protest against it, which will probably be signed by all the Protectionist Peers. The second reading of the Coercion Bill came on in the Commons, and the Government were beaten by a majority of 73; 106 Protectionists voted with Peel, and 70 against him, and all the Whigs and Radicals. The defeat of the Government was reckoned so complete that neither Whigs nor Protectionists cheered.

June 26th.—There was a Cabinet this morning, after which Sir Robert Peel went down to Osborne to acquaint the Queen with the decision of the Cabinet, and, it is supposed, to tender his resignation.

June 27th.—Dined with Lord and Lady Lansdowne. Met the Beauforts, the Clarendons, Lord de Grey, and the Duke of Richmond. It was a dull dinner, everybody occupied with politics, and the party so mixed that the subject could not be mentioned. Sir Robert Peel went down again to Osborne to-day.

June 29th.—I hear the dinner at Lansdowne House has made a great sensation from its mixture, and is called the 'Coalition' dinner, which is absurd. Sir Robert Peel declared in the House of Commons this afternoon that he had resigned office, and would give his support to Lord John Russell in all Free Trade measures. This will bring back to the Protectionists a great many of the Peelite party, and is a good move for them. Various rumours, as usual, as to the posts given to the members of the new Government. Peel flattered Cobden immensely, saying that there was one name

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which would go down to posterity, which was neither his nor Lord John's, but that of Richard Cobden. Peel was escorted to his house by about a hundred people, who cheered as loudly as their limited numbers would permit.

August 21st.—News from Spain has been very interesting of late. The marriage of the Queen with the Duke of Cadiz is settled, in spite of her abhorrence of him; and that of her sister with the Duc de Montpensier is announced to take place at the same time. This is a masterpiece of Louis Philippe's cunning, because it is known that the Queen would not have children, even if her own bad health made it possible. Her sister will then be heir to the throne. The English Government, especially Lord Palmerston, are much displeased, and Mr. Bulwer and M. de Bresson, their respective Ministers at Madrid, are on the coolest terms since the announcement has been made, it having taken Lord Palmerston completely by surprise. Mr. Bulwer did not attend the public announcement of the Queen's marriage; and, to complicate the question, Don Carlos's son, Count Montemolin, Cabrera, and other Carlist generals, have made their escape, and the whole country is in a ferment in consequence of this French alliance, which is generally detested. If I know Lord Palmerston, he will never forgive Louis Philippe this trick which he has played upon him, and will pay him off some day.

October 7th.—We left London for Dover with my brother-in-law, Lord Ossulston; sailed for Ostend, thence to Liège, where the engine was taken off and we went down the steepest-inclined plane I ever saw on any railway. If the rope had given way we must all have been smashed. Thence

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by Verviers to Cologne, and up the Rhine by steamboat. The King of Prussia is employing four hundred workmen in finishing the cathedral at Cologne, which will consume seventeen years before it is completed, if the money and stone do not fail. The latter is procured from a quarry near Drachenfels.

October 12*th.*—Have reached Godesberg. We walked up the hill to the castle of Drachenfels. The ruin, which is very picturesque, is disfigured by hundreds of English names scrawled upon the battlements, a habit that seems peculiar to our nation.

October 13*th.*—Left Godesberg and reached Coblenz. We walked to the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein, which contains a garrison of twelve hundred men. The magazines are victualled for seven years, but are always renewed every three years.

October 14*th.*—We arrived at Mayence and went on to Mannheim.

October 15*th.*—Reached Heidelberg. The road runs along the banks of the Neckar and is very beautiful. This magnificent castle was destroyed by fire, but the exterior is uninjured, excepting some parts which were blown up by the French in the Thirty Years' War.

October 16*th.*—Left Heidelberg by the railway, with the Cannings, whom we met here, and reached Fribourg. Walked to the cathedral, said to be the finest in Europe after that of Burgos. In size it is not larger than that of Salisbury or

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even Christchurch, but in the richness of its architecture and decorations it immeasurably surpasses both. The windows of painted glass exceed any.

October 17*th.*—Left Fribourg by the road through the Hollenthal, which is very wild. The approach to Stuhlingen is magnificent along the brow of a very steep hill, the declivity of which is so abrupt that you see nothing over the parapet wall from your carriage but the valley at an immense depth under your feet. The sun was just setting as we were descending the hill, and threw the most glorious light over the valley and the woods and mountains in the distance. It was quite dark before we left Stuhlingen, and we, therefore, lost the scenery to Schaffhausen. We went to Wiebur's hotel, which is just opposite the falls of the Rhine.

October 18*th.*—Reached Constance, close to the lake, which at this point expands into an immense sheet of water. Lord Ossulston left us to-day for Zurich, on his way to Milan, and will join us at Venice.

October 19*th.*—Left Constance for Italy over the Brenner Pass, by Bludenz, Landeck, and the Tyrol.

October 21*st.*—Reached Innspruck. I never saw anything so frightful as the women of this country. They all look old, more like old men than women, and as they wear men's hats the resemblance is still more striking. I suppose it is hard labour and bad living which makes them so uncomely. All have the same ugly features, high cheek bones, large mouths, small eyes, with enormous feet and legs. The

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museum is entirely supported by the contributions of the inhabitants, each paying ten florins per annum. The guardian showed us a miniature of Hofer, the famous patriot, who opposed the French in '96, the only likeness taken of him; also his sword and accoutrements, all of which are held in great veneration by the Tyrolese. As we were going away he took us into a private room and produced a letter which was written by Lord Bathurst, our Minister, to the Tyrolese during the great war, sending them a subsidy of 30,000*l.* from the English Government to assist them in opposing the French invasion. In reading the letter I found to my surprise that, though it was signed 'Bathurst,' it was written by my father, who at that time was Under-Secretary at the Foreign Office. We carried away a copy of it, and the superintendent said that most of the English who came here wanted one, so he always kept some ready written. This letter is apparently much valued here as a relic, together with a German copy of it.

October 23*rd.*—We met the funeral of an officer of the Tyrolese corps, an immense number of people following the procession. Those nearest the coffin carried lighted tapers, after them the priests in full canonicals, then the coffin, with a yellow pall and black borders, and two pictures painted or worked upon it. Four men walked beside the coffin carrying lanterns on the top of long poles; behind, the military band playing the gayest opera music, and afterwards an immense crowd of men, women, and children. The effect was strange, for during the time the band played their opera airs, the great bell of the church, the most tuneful and melodious one I ever heard, every stroke resembling a full chord of the finest wind instrument, tolled slowly; so the

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whole was a great mixture of solemnity and frivolity, but still certainly striking to one who, like me, witnessed it for the first time. The ascent of Brenner is very easy, and only took an hour and a half.[1]

October 26th.—After leaving Mittenwald reached Niedern-dorf. It snowed a little when we started, and by the time we reached the first post to Landau it lay so thick upon the ground that we thought we should not be able to proceed. It was above the axletrees of the front wheels, and the track was nearly obliterated. The atmosphere looked nearly as white as the ground, and the snow increased rapidly till it reached the top of the front wheels. At this anxious moment we met a party of men with a snow-plough, dragged by twenty horses, who had got through the drift, and this enabled us to pass and reach Landau. The next stage to Cortina was nearly as bad, the snow reaching over the parapet, which it hid, making the road very unsafe going down the sharp turns in the descent. The horses, however, were so good and well-trained that they go along the worst roads perfectly safely and never jib. We breakfasted at Cortina, which is the first Italian town. There we fell in with Mr. Waghorn's Indian courier. He was making experiments to find the shortest road from India through Italy and France.

October 27th.—Arrived at Mestre, and embarked in a large gondola for Venice. The town has been lighted by gas since we were here fifteen years ago, and the railway and bridge are no disfigurement to it.

[1] There is now a splendid railway over this pass down to Venice.

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October 31*st.*—I went with the Websters to hear mass at Saint Mark's, the Patriarch of Venice officiating. The greatest part of the ceremony appeared to consist in dressing and undressing him. The music good, but nothing remarkable.

November 2*nd.*—I went to the Manfrini Palace to admire again Ariosto's portrait by Titian.[1]

November 3*rd.*—Went to the Accademia, where I was confirmed in my opinion that 'The Assumption' and 'The Presentation of the Virgin as a Child' are the two finest pictures by Titian in Europe. The latter is the superior one. Titian's last work is also in this collection, painted when he was ninety-nine years old, but shows the effect of years even upon him.

November 16*th.*—I have been seriously ill with a quinsy, and till now unable to go out. Left Venice to-day and reached Padua, thence to Ferrara. Detained an hour and a half crossing the Adige and the Po, being delayed by a carriage that was before us embedded in the mud.

November 18*th.*—We reached Bologna, where Lord Ossulston rejoined us.

November 20*th.*—Reached Florence.

November 25*th.*—Went to Bartolini's and Power's studios. The latter is making a duplicate of his 'Greek Slave' for Lord Ward. His statue of 'Eve' is also beautiful in the

[1] This collection was sold, and this picture is now in our National Gallery.

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shape of the head, which is quite lovely both in feature and expression, but the figure is much less modest and graceful than that of his 'Greek Slave,' probably from its being rather larger than life. But the statue which pleased me most was one of a girl of fourteen by Dupré, and which he calls 'Innocenza;' the figure being that of a girl just on the verge of womanhood. The papers mention the occupation of Cracow by the Austrians, who, in concert with Russia and Prussia, have declared that the Republic of Cracow no longer exists, and have annexed it to the Austrian Empire, Russia declaring that if Austria did not take it she would. This has been done without the knowledge of either England or France, and is said to be a consequence of the coolness existing between those Powers, for if the *entente cordiale* was still in force they would not have dared to do such a thing.

November 27th.—Left Florence at ten, and arrived at Arezzo at seven. The roads were very heavy and covered with loose stones.

November 28th.—The towns we passed through bore marks of great antiquity, and are very curious old places. The whole aspect of the country and the people is so different from what we have lately seen, and they are apparently so far behind in civilisation, that one could easily fancy oneself a thousand miles from Florence. We were shown in the church at Arezzo the skeleton of a man who had been immured. It was still covered with skinlike parchment, and the features were quite preserved. The wretched creature had been walled-up evidently alive, and seems to have struggled either to escape from his prison or died from suffocation.

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November 29th.—Reached Civita Castellana in ten hours.

November 30th.—We reached Rome at 3 P.M., having received a very bad impression of the climate, as it had poured with rain during the whole journey from Florence.

December 10th.—The rains have been so heavy that the greatest part of Rome is under water, which is deepest on the Corso, the Piazza del Popolo, and some parts of the Via Babuino. In the Corso the depth is as much as four or five feet; in fact, a man was nearly drowned there, but was saved by the Prince Borghese, who was going about in a boat carrying bread to the poor people who were prisoners in their houses. In the Via Ripetta the depth is seventeen feet. This is the highest flood since 1805; and as during the last three or four days it had been predicted, the people who inhabit those parts of the town liable to inundation have had time to remove their property, but they have not done so, and do not care, as the Government always indemnifies them for their losses.

December 12th.—The most violent storm of thunder and hail occurred to-day; our windows were blown in.

December 21st.—Went to Cardinal Marini's *ricevimento*. He is extremely unpopular, and it was said those who went to his house would have been pelted, but we went there safely. Lady Lichfield and her daughter, the Cannings, Shelburnes, and a quantity of English and Americans were there. We were presented to the Princess Lancellotti, who received for the Cardinal. It was not worth seeing, as the Roman ladies were frightened at the rumour I have men-

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tioned, and but few came. Those who did were covered with the most magnificent diamonds, but were not handsome.

December 22nd.—Lord Ossulston and I went to Cisterna to shoot, but found the Pontine Marshes flooded, and could not approach the wild geese or any sort of wild fowl, so we had to beat some woods for woodcock. One of these was called the 'Wood of the Dead Woman,' why we could not find out. But as the marshes were under water the woodcock could not get their food, and we found very few, so returned on the 25th to Rome.

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January 1st.—We called on Signora Gagiotti, surnamed the 'Corinne' of Rome. She is very handsome, twenty-three years of age, speaks English and three other languages perfectly, has a very fine voice, is a good musician, playing both harp and piano, and writes poetry, for which she was crowned last year at the Capitol. She paints portraits better than a great many artists.

January 4th.—We went with Lord Walpole, who understands Etruscan vases very well, to see the great collection of Mr. Campana. Lord Walpole told us there were rules by which to distinguish the different sorts, and the epochs at which they were made. The latter are divided into four. The first is recognised by the rudeness of the drawings, which represent unnatural and fictitious animals painted upon a light-coloured ground. The oldest of all are quite

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black without any figures. The second period represents figures resembling the style of the Egyptians, very stiff, with few lines, generally black or black and white upon a red ground. At the third period, when the art was brought to its greatest perfection, the figures were beautifully drawn in the Grecian style, representing historical subjects, many taken from the 'Iliad,' and called 'Homeric.' These are generally red on a black ground. The fourth period marked the decadence of the art, and its products were very inferior to the third. I went to see the famous statue of Pompey at the Palazzo Strada, at the foot of which Cæsar fell. I consider this the most interesting association to be found in all Rome.

January 11*th.*—Left Rome for Naples. Slept at Cisterna. All the people look wretched, as the infection from the Pontine Marshes extends to this place. The greatest part of the population have the fever, and chiefly men who work in the fields and are exposed to the malaria. My courier says that the points of the shoots of walnut trees steeped in water and put out all night is the usual and most certain remedy, and more effectual than quinine.

January 13*th.*—We slept at Mola, and we reached Naples in the evening following.

January 14*th.*—Went to the Museum, where the pictures are not first-rate, but there are curious paintings from Pompeii. We stayed at Naples till the 18th. Vesuvius was nearly silent during that time. From Naples we went to Salerno, seeing Pompeii on our way.

January 19*th.*—We started with Lord Ossulston at 7 A.M.,

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and reached Pæstum at 10.50; remained there until 2 P.M., and got back to Naples at 6 P.M. We had our luncheon in the Temple of Neptune, a magnificent structure, and most interesting, but the swarm of beggars greatly spoiled one's pleasure, and it is impossible to get rid of them.

January 20th.—We returned to Naples, and went in the evening to Princess Torella's ball. Pretty and not crowded. All the handsome women were English.

January 22nd.—The Duke of Devonshire, who is staying here, hired a steamer, and invited us, the Kenmares, and three painters, to make an expedition to Capri. The Duke had prepared luncheon when we reached the island, but just as we were starting, his butler, who was very active in regulating matters, unfortunately fell back from the pier into the sea, creating great alarm and confusion, and delaying us over half-an-hour while he changed his dress. Half way to Capri it began to rain, which forced us to go below, and finally there was too much swell for us to enter the cave safely, and we had to return to Naples, having failed in our projects.

January 23rd.—We went to the opera at San Carlo in Mr. Temple's (our Minister's) box. It is the largest theatre in Europe.

January 24th.—An eruption of Mount Vesuvius has begun, and has been very fine for the last two nights. Went to the Princess Dentici.

January 26th.—We all three left Naples, slept at Castellamare, where we met Wrottesley and Bridgman, and

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proceeded to Sorrento. We walked all over the town, saw the fortifications which baffled the French the first time they laid siege to it, though they took it two years afterwards. There is a manufactory of inlaid wood here.

January 27th.—I went to Ravello, where I visited the cathedral, which has some fine old mosaics. A curious discovery has just been made of a manuscript which mentions the exact spot in the church where the bones of St. Andrew the Apostle were buried. Searches were accordingly made, and they have been exhumed, and the skull placed in a gold box, and the ceremony of canonisation takes place to-morrow. A service in honour of the saint was going on in a crypt where we descended. I afterwards walked up the Valley of the Mills, which is very beautiful. Had some excellent maccaroni for luncheon. It is reckoned the best in Italy and very cheap, two hundredweight costing only forty francs.

January 29th.—Returned to Castellamare and caught the train for Naples.

February 3rd.—We all went this evening to the King's ball; it was worth seeing, the apartment being fine and beautifully lighted. In the ball-room there were five enormous chandeliers of crystal, but they were hung too low, the room being immensely high.

February 5th.—Left Naples, and reached Rome on the 7th. Our party consisted of the Shelburnes, the Cannings, the Herberts of Muckross, the Comtesse and Mdlle. de Flahault, M. Latour-Maubourg, and Ossulston. We hired a balcony on the Corso to see the humours of the Carnival.

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We had a large box full of *confetti*—I believe about 1,200 lbs.

February 9th.—The pelting was slacker to-day. There were numbers of pretty *contadine* in very rich costumes; they were spared, but everybody else who passed under the balcony we overwhelmed.

February 11th.—This was the great day of the Carnival, and we all started at two o'clock for the Corso. We hired a large carriage with two boxes, and high enough to be out of the reach of the pickpockets, who comprise almost the whole Roman population. The day was fine, though very cold, and all the *contadine* appeared in costume; many were very lovely and their dresses uncommonly rich. We threw and received quantities of *bonbons* and nosegays, but with the exception of those on the balconies and a few from the carriages, English and Americans, nobody pelted us. We returned to the balcony for the race of the *barbari*, as they call their horses.

February 12th.—The Cannings gave a supper, and some of the party before mentioned went to the masquerade at the Apollo Theatre, which was extremely amusing. We went in and out of the boxes in different disguises, changing our dominoes frequently. A great many people, men and women, came into our box, but all were very civil, and nothing disagreeable was said. We came home at half-past four, very tired.

February 15th.—Very wet to-day. There were some carriages with Roman women in costume, but all looking

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very wretched, their rich dresses soaked and dripping with water. Most of them wore nothing on their heads, and their dresses being all made low with short sleeves, they must have suffered dreadfully from the weather, which was extremely cold, besides the rain, which came down in torrents.

February 16th.—No *confetti* were thrown in our faces to-day, but the usual quantity of nosegays and sweetmeats. We went to the balcony, after which we lit our *moccoletti*, and had a great battle for about half an hour. The crowd, almost all of whom had lighted candles, was immense, and the noise so deafening that we were glad to get away and rest a little before the *festino* which was to take place that evening. This consists of a masquerade at the theatre, to which we repaired at eight o'clock.

February 24th.—The last few days have been spent at dinners given by several of our party. We have been very fortunate in finding this season at Rome almost all the most agreeable and clever people of our acquaintance. The Shelburnes and the Cannings are remarkable for both qualities, and it is a real pleasure to see the wonders of Rome in such company.

March 1st.—Went with Lord and Lady Canning to Baron Kessner's, who has a good collection of pictures; some curious ones by Giotto, and a beautiful portrait by Raphael, supposed to be that of the lady he was engaged to marry a short time before his death. Mr. Augustus Villiers[1] is lying dangerously ill, having broken a blood-vessel in the chest.

March 2nd.—We left Rome, covered with snow, and

[1] Lord Jersey's son, who died soon afterwards.

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reached Civita Castellana that afternoon. It snowed all the way from there to Terni and also to Foligno. I never suffered so much from cold during the severest weather in England as in both those places.

March 4th.—Left Foligno and stopped at Spello, where we saw the cathedral of the Franciscan church of San Lorenzo. Here we got into the country of Raphael, Perugino, Pinturicchio, and Spagna; and some of the finest specimens of those artists' paintings are to be seen here. At the church of San Lorenzo there is a splendid picture by Pinturicchio over the altar, and at the other end of the church is one by Spagna. But the monks discouraged our going to see it, and I found out afterwards the reason they had done so was because there was a dead body in the church, which we must pass, and they thought must be disagreeable to us to see, as it was uncovered. From Spello we went to Assisi, where we saw the church of St. Francis, containing some fine Giottos. The upper church is in the Gothic style, with painted glass windows, and the walls in fresco by Cimabue and his pupils. In the lower church there is a beautiful picture by Spagna of the Virgin and Child; also a curious portrait of St. Francis painted in A.D. 1230, supposed to be by Giunta di Pisa, who was his friend. From Assisi we went to Perugia. It stands very high, and it was so bitterly cold that we could not leave the house to see it.

March 5th.—The weather having improved, we went to Casa Domini, where there are a few good pictures of the Umbrian School. Went to Casa Penna, but could not gain admittance. We heard to-day that the Cavaliere Penna, who is the guardian of the young man to whom the pictures in the

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house belong, sold one for 750 scudi to a foreigner about three years ago. It was a very beautiful portrait of a woman by Raphael, and on hearing this it struck me from various circumstances that it was the identical picture we had seen at Baron Kessner's the day before we left Rome, and which he told us he bought at Bologna three years ago. The face, he said, was painted over, but judging from the extreme beauty of the rest of the picture, he had the courage to have the paint taken off, and the face of the present lovely picture was discovered. The snow came on again at night, and the cold was so intense that I fear the country must suffer. The principal source of wealth of its inhabitants is the olive, which is very delicate. I saw quantities on the higher ground nearly stripped of their leaves, which were strewed over the fields and roads from the severity of the frosts, looking as if they were burnt.

March 7th.—We reached Florence, where we stayed till the 12th, when we went to Lucca. There is a very nice collection of pictures at the Palazzo Manzi; among them a beautiful Madonna and Child by Francia, one of the most lovely pictures I ever saw; also a good collection of Dutch pictures, with the names to them most ignorantly misapplied.

March 13th.—We reached La Spezzia. Found the torrents that cross the roads quite dry; the one between Sorzana and Spezzia is a very bad one. Found the prices of the work at Carrara very much increased to what they were sixteen years ago, when I could buy a very handsome chimney-piece for 20*l.*—they now ask 60*l.*

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March 15*th.*—We reached Genoa, where I bought from the Marquis de Brignole a very fine circular portrait of Titian by Sebastiano del Piombo, painted on a solid block of cypress wood, and an inscription burned by a hot iron at the back, with the names of those two great men, and the date '1548.' It is now at Heron Court.

March 22*nd.*—After having paraded all the galleries and palaces of Genoa, we left it, returning by the Corniche, stopping at Savona and San Remo.

March 25*th.*—Left San Remo, which is a detestable village, and reached Nice;[1] the journey from thence to Nice is trying to the nervous traveller, the roads being very narrow and in most places without parapets. The postboys descend the hills at such a pace that any accident happening to the harness must send them down the precipice.

March 26*th.*—In passing Cannes we saw Lord Brougham's villa building. It is a Cockney whitewashed house, close to the high road, which passes between it and the sea, with an apology for a garden round it.

March 27*th.*—We found the little inn, 'La Poste,' at Cannes very comfortable and clean; fifteen years ago it was scarcely habitable.

March 29*th.*—We reached Avignon and travelled the road to Lyons, passing an immense quantity of grain carts, there being a famine in the North of France, where bread costs twenty pence English a pound.

[1] San Remo is now one of the most beautiful towns on the Riviera—1883.

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April 4th.—We reached Paris, where we heard of the death of my wife's uncle, Jules de Polignac. There are quantities of English here.

April 5th.—Went to see Marshal Soult's pictures which he looted in Spain. There are many Murillos, all beautiful, but one of them representing the Assumption finer than any I ever saw. Also some very good ones by Zurbaran. M. de Portalis has also a very valuable gallery, including a good Giorgione, Titian, and Sebastiano del Piombo. In his private apartment there are two pictures by Delaroche representing the death of Cardinal Richelieu, and a lovely Greuze.

April 8th.—Left Paris, and went as far as Abbeville.

April 9th.—Arrived at Boulogne, but the storm too heavy to cross. A very angry sea was running, and it was really alarming to see the steamer pitch as she crossed the bar, the waves washing clean over her. The passengers must have been wet through before they got a quarter of a mile out.

April 12th.—The storm increased, and we remained at the Hôtel des Bains, but reached London on the 11th.

April 18th.—The Queen of Spain has dismissed her Government and household, and has ceased to quarrel with her husband. She has quite thrown over the French party for the English, which has pleased her subjects, who receive her everywhere with acclamation. She drives out every day without guards and always accompanied by her husband.

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The French say that her conduct is very bad and that General Serrano is her lover. But all this does not at present prevent her from being very popular, which enrages the French more, as they cannot be blind to the fact that her popularity has been chiefly occasioned by the dismissal of the party that had favoured the French alliance. The Duc de Broglie is appointed to succeed M. de St. Aulaire as Ambassador in London.

April 24th.—A great political dinner at Lord Stanley's. They say Lady Normanby, our Ambassadress at Paris, speaks French very imperfectly, and at the time of our quarrel with M. Guizot, intending to explain that it had arisen through a mistake, she said, 'c'étoit pár mépris!'

May 8th.—Dined with the Eglintons. General Sir Harry Smith was the great lion of the evening. He is a little old man, very clever looking. She is a Spanish woman, and has been very handsome.

May 13th.—The Queen's ball. A debate in the Lords on the Irish Poor Law Bill, the Government being anxious to get the Peers to rescind their votes on the clause making the measure temporary. They had a majority of twelve, eighteen bishops voting with them.

May 15th.—We went to the amateur play for the Irish. *Ernani* was acted. Mrs. Butler, *née* Kemble, has grown very old and affected, but acted well in the last scene, the first part being all whining and snorting. The Queen was present, and a very fashionable audience.

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May 19th.—Lady Malmesbury left London for the German waters, and went to Ems.

June 18th.—Lord Stanley's motion condemning the Government for their intervention in Portugal ended very unfortunately, owing to Lords Ellenborough and Brougham not choosing to speak in support of it; the consequence being that the division took place much earlier than was expected, and most of our men were at dinner, Stanley amongst them, so we were beaten by twenty. In the House of Commons the debate came on the same night, but the House was counted out. In the meantime the English fleet has taken the Portuguese ships and made 2,000 prisoners, whom they have conveyed to Lisbon and shut up in the fortress. This *coup de main* appears to have been done without warning, for the Admiral's letter to the Junta cautioning them that if their vessels sailed they would be captured was not delivered till after the capture had actually been made, and nine days after the date of the letter. This will probably put an end to the civil war, but it is very tricky and unworthy of England.

August 4th.—We left London for Achnacarry, where the Cannings joined us on the 16th, as well as Mr. Cholmondeley and Mr. Temple, Lord Palmerston's brother.

August 23rd.—We were very much shocked to-day by reading an account in the papers of the murder of the Duchesse de Praslin. It appears her maid was awakened between four and five o'clock in the morning on the 1st by the ringing of the Duchess's bell. She went to her room, and found it was locked on the inside; but on listening she heard a feeble

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groan, upon which she alarmed the other servants, who broke open the door, and the Duchess was found lying in a pool of blood on the floor with several deep wounds in her throat and breast. She was unable to speak, and died in a short time without recovering her consciousness. The police were immediately sent for, and it was ascertained that no robbery had been committed, and it is supposed the act was one of vengeance. It is suspected that a governess whom she lately dismissed, and said to be the Duke's mistress, was the instigator of the crime. They had only arrived the night before the murder from the country. Everybody in the house has been arrested, and a telegraphic despatch sent to recall Marshal Sebastiani, father of the Duchess, from Corsica, where he has gone.

August 24th.—We received a letter from Lady Tankerville. The Duc de Praslin has been arrested on suspicion of having committed the murder. The police went to the governess's lodgings, but she was absent; they, however, seized all her papers. The investigation is continued with great activity, and though very little is known, there must have been very strong evidence against the Duke for such a step being taken as that of arresting him, as he would naturally be the last person suspected. But it appears when on the first alarm the doctors were sent for, the servants expressed a suspicion of him, so there must have been circumstances which have not been made public and which warrant those suspicions. The poor woman seems to have struggled hard with her murderer, for her hand was full of his hair, and there was a good deal of hair, some of which was hers, scattered about the carpet. The furniture in the room was very much disturbed, the tables knocked over; but on

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the closest examination no traces could be discovered of anyone having broken in or out of the house, and if, as it is said, the room was locked on the inside, the murderer could not have escaped that way. If, therefore, any private communication existed between her room and that of the Duke, suspicion naturally fell upon him. A pistol, it is said, stained with blood was found in his room.

August 25th.—There is now no doubt as to the Duke's guilt, which seems to have been suspected almost from the first; for, on the alarm being given, one of the servants, finding the door locked, ran screaming round the house to the garden, either to try and gain an entrance that way or to stop any person who might attempt to escape. The same servant saw a man whom he thought was the Duke opening the window of the Duchess's apartment, but who retreated precipitately on seeing him. In addition to this, when the servants went to call the Duke they found him dressed, which, as he had been in bed, was a very extraordinary fact, at that early hour. There are also stains of blood on his dressing-gown, and water tinged with blood was found in the basin in his room. The magistrates, observing that he wore gloves, made him take them off, when several slight wounds were discovered, like scratches or bites; also a bruise and a large wound on one of his legs. The magistrates then decided on having him kept in sight, not having power to arrest a Peer without an order from the Chamber. The police have also arrested Mdlle. Luzy, the governess, and she has been transferred to prison, where she is kept *au secret*. She loudly asserts her innocence, not only of the murder, but of having been the Duke's mistress. The circumstance most against her is, the Duke having gone to see her, with

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two of his daughters, the moment he arrived at Paris, and that the Duchess in consequence was very angry, and a quarrel took place between them on his return. They both afterwards retired to their separate apartments, and no disturbance took place till the ringing of the bell alarmed the maid. The struggles of the poor Duchess must have been dreadful, the smallest number of wounds mentioned as being inflicted on her being seven. A pistol was found in the room covered with blood, which the Duke admitted belonged to him, but said he took it in for the purpose of defending the Duchess, hearing her cries. This, however, does not agree with the surprise he affected on being told of the murder.

August 29th.—The papers contain full details about the Duchesse de Praslin's murder, and every circumstance confirms the Duke's guilt. He has attempted to poison himself by taking laudanum, and has been removed to the Luxembourg. The Chamber of Peers has been summoned to try him.

August 31st.—The Duc de Praslin died on the 24th from the effects of the poison, which turns out to have been arsenic. He was attended by three of the cleverest doctors in Paris, who treated him for poisoning by laudanum, which has naturally given rise to some suspicion that they did not wish to save him, and perhaps had orders not to do, so as to avoid the scandal of an execution, the evidence against him being so strong as not to leave a doubt of his guilt. He is said to have confessed to a priest, but to no one else, and has never apparently expressed either remorse or sorrow for the murder. The messengers sent to Marshal Sebastiani, father of the Duchess, found him at Vevey, and communicated the

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news, which had not yet reached him, but without telling him who the murderer was. That was to be told him by his physician, who had set out to meet him. He was much afflicted, but no fear is entertained for his health.

September 6th.—Two men were found this morning on the moor near Fort William quite dead, having apparently perished from cold. One was a fine young man above six feet high and not more than twenty-two years old; the other about thirty-five, and equally strong. Their money and watches were found upon them, so that no robbery has been committed. There were no marks of violence, and they looked as if they were asleep. They were tradesmen from London, and were on a pedestrian tour for their pleasure. It appears from the evidence relating to the murder of the Duchesse de Praslin that she might have been saved if the maid and valet had shown any quickness or courage. They heard her screaming for a long time before they got up to see who it was, and even when they found that her door was not locked they did not dare to go in, as the room was dark and they smelt blood. The Duke had time to return to his room, where he burned some papers and linen, washed his dressing-gown, hid the dagger, and went back to her room, of which he himself unlocked the door leading into the hall at the moment the servants tried it, and pretended he had come to her assistance on hearing her screams. He also at once desired that the doctor should be sent for. The servants at first suspected Mdlle. Luzy of the crime, but very soon after the arrival of the magistrates suspicion was excited against the Duke, and he, perceiving these suspicions, took an opportunity when the arrival of another magistrate diverted attention for a moment from

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him to retire to his room and swallow poison. The evidence of the doctors is published, and proves either gross ignorance, unpardonable carelessness, or wilful blindness. The first doctor pretends to think the symptoms are occasioned by distress of mind, then he suspects poison, but neither gives an antidote nor communicates his suspicion to his colleague, who pronounces the case at once to be cholera, and leaves him a whole night without any assistance at all, whilst they go comfortably to bed. No doubt they wished him to die.

September 14th.—Lord Ossulston has killed 'the great stag of Gusach,' after a very long and difficult stalk. This fine animal, which weighed twenty stone when clean, had baffled us for several years. There is very little news, but what we have is very unsatisfactory. Several people in society are ruined, amongst others Massey Stanley, who has gone abroad owing 280,000*l.*, and Hooton is for sale. The commercial smashes are also very many, and are due to over-speculation in railways. Peel went a few days ago to Liverpool, dined with the mayor and made a speech, but avoided giving any opinion as to the causes of our commercial failures.

Lord Canning to Lord Malmesbury.

Madrid: Oct. 21, 1847.

My dear M.,—I promised you a letter, but it has been a long time coming. The fact is that this is a despairing place to write from. It is difficult enough to believe, and much more so to understand one half of what one sees and hears passing about one, but to convey it to one who is fresh from the simplicities of Inverness-shire is impossible.

I arrived in the nick of time for sport—on the very day on which Salamanca was turned out and Narvaez came in, just in time, too, for the birthday drawing-room, the ball at Court, the bull fight, &c. (why didn't you come?) The journey, too, was nothing. I left

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Grosvenor Square on a Monday, spent a day at Paris (such a *bisque* at the 'Trois Frères!') and a day at Bayonne, and got here on the Monday following.

The hotels are infamous, but Bulwer is very hospitable and wanted to lodge me. But he is only in temporary lodgings himself just now, so I only feed with him. This is very convenient, for he asks two or three notabilities of all colours every day, and one hears what they say of themselves and of each other.

Of all the sudden convulsions and changes that the country has gone through, I believe there never was any more sudden and unexpected than this last one, nevertheless it all passed off quietly enough. The rationale of it is shortly this: Salamanca as a politician was a Liberal, but a stock-jobber from the beginning, and chiefly bent upon making a fortune. He is supposed to be already of enormous wealth, but how much of it is real no one here seems to know. All that I can speak to is that he is at this moment building two immense houses—one, almost as grand as Stafford House, for himself and his wife, the other, about the size of Montagu House, for his mistress. Narvaez, a bold, unscrupulous soldier, of immense energy (the rarest of all qualities and therefore the most telling here), eaten up with ambition, but also anxious for a fortune at the country's expense (this any Minister can make in more or less time according to his scruples). He is just like Lord Combermere in face, figure, and get-up, but a little bigger.

Serrano, or the 'Influence' as he was modestly called, was supposed to be honest, but weak, and under the dominion of an avaricious old mother and a homœopathic doctor (Nuñez), who is an apostate priest and Carlist. Serrano is very like Cradock, but darker. These were the principal actors. Serrano had felt for some little time that his power over the Queen was on the wane. His mother and the doctor, bribed by Narvaez *and others*, persuaded him to use a last effort to get the Queen to remove Salamanca and send for Narvaez, and that then, after placing the Queen in the hands of a Minister who has a majority in the Cortes (for the Cortes was elected under N.'s former Government, and packed to a man), he might retire with dignity upon some command or governorship at a distance, and avoid being thrown over in the face of the Court for some more lucky successor. He did as he was bid, and succeeded. Narvaez was sent for, and immediately telegraphed for Queen Christina, who has since arrived. Serrano has received an estate in

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Estremadura, bought with the Queen's money, and has been named Captain-General of Granada. (Here, however, there is some hitch, for within a day or two there is news of his having stopped half-way and sent in his resignation. The motive probably is that he has heard of differences in Narvaez's Cabinet, which may break it up as suddenly as it was formed, and that he thinks he may as well be on the spot.) Salamanca is supposed to have got 150,000*l.* by a gigantic job in the funds. And the homœopathic doctor is rewarded with the Grand Cordon of Charles III.

There are all sorts of under-currents which have been going on while this has been worked out, but it would be endless to give them, and impossible to make them intelligible.

As matters stand now, Serrano is without any apparent successor. Narvaez is not on good terms with two or three of his necessary colleagues, nor with the Queen-Mother. The Queen is displeased and frightened at her mother's return, and bored by Narvaez, and as she has not the smallest sense of responsibility, may at any moment, if things are not made smooth to her, send him about his business and appoint some new man. And this, I am convinced, will be the state of things with every Government that may come into existence here until the 'Minister' and the 'Influence' are united in the same individual (as was the case with Catherine and Elizabeth). And if Serrano had had any head or heart he would have done this, and made himself Minister in name and appearance, even if he did not feel equal to the reality.

I said there was no apparent successor to Serrano as yet, but we shall not have to wait long. The day before yesterday a singer at the Opera came home to his lodgings at six o'clock in the morning and found them occupied by the police, who had a carriage ready to take him off to Valencia, the reason being that his night had been passed at the Palace. To say the truth, this appears to me rather hard, for nothing is deducible from the hour at which he left the Palace, inasmuch as the Queen turns night into day, sees her Ministers after the Opera, sups at four or five, and does not go to bed till morning. However, as this man is not her singing-master, I suppose Narvaez considers that he had no business there. At all events, it is certain that he is packed off. What a fortune Bunn might make of him!

The Queen is infinitely better to look at than I expected, rather tall than short, not too fat, built pretty much upon Lady Walpole's

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lines, and a face rather like Lady Londonderry. Her manners when she is still, and speaking, are extremely dignified, but her movements, every now and then, hoydenish. The King I have not seen, although Narvaez has just brought him back to the Palace, for which the French papers, and I daresay the English too, will puff him as a paragon of morality. But it is one thing to take a horse to the water, and another to make him drink, especially if he should happen to have the hydrophobia. Don't believe a word in a reconciliation on either side.

The Court is very royal, the Palace magnificent, finer than any I know, and larger, and the ceremony and attendance is very grand. The Halberdiers of the Palace, who defended it so manfully in 1841, are almost as picturesque as the Pope's Guard—long black gaiters half-way up the thigh, broad skirted blue coats with the red flaps buttoned back, long waistcoats, and three-cornered hats—exactly the French Mousquetaires of the last century. As to the pictures, are they not written in the book of Ford? By-the-bye, I am a little out of conceit with Ford. It is a charming book to be read at leisure in one's room, but his quotations and illustrations (sometimes rather far-fetched) get in the way and provoke one when one is in a hurry for a fact. However, he is very good, generally upon the pictures, which are gloriously magnificent. Seriously, I do not think that Rome and Florence and Heron Court together could make up a gallery that I would take in preference to the Museo. And you would think so too, for, after the Spanish, the great force of the collection is in the Venetian School—Titians, P. Veroneses, Tintorets, Giorgiones, all in their perfection. There are also two or three good private collections, and one (belonging to the President of the Museo) where any of the pictures may be bought; but I saw nothing very covetable except a beautiful Vandyke of a man in armour, for which he asks 1,000*l.*, and a Rubens, which is too large for any space in my gallery. I forgot to say that in the Museo is a portrait of Titian by himself, taken at exactly the same age as yours, with the same dress, gold chain, &c., but in profile. There is no difference in the faces and expression.

I went all over the town in search of curiosities, but could find nothing, except some very fine old crystal chandeliers, which were too large.

The bull fight was not equal to those I have seen in the South. The bulls were not so good, and the matador of the day is not equal

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to the great Montes, who has retired into private life, while life is left him. However, I did not sit out more than five or six bulls, and I was told afterwards that the last was a really good animal, and had eight horses dead in the ring at once, which certainly is out of the common way.

I have only made one country expedition as yet, to Segovia, about fifty miles off, over the Guadarama mountains, seeing the Escurial and La Granja by the way. There are no post-horses or any other means of moving to be found on the road, so I was obliged to hire a carriage (a small English brougham and a team of four enormous black mules, covered with red and yellow harness and tassels—rather an imposing equipage). All these places are worth seeing (La Granja least so), and part of the road, that over the mountains, is very beautiful; old weather-beaten firs (almost equal to Glen Mealy) growing from amongst large boulders of granite, with high fern at their feet. You would not know it from a bit of Achnacarry. But this is a brilliant exception to the general appearance of the country within many dreary miles of Madrid. For the most part it is a treeless, fenceless, houseless, undulating waste, without a blade of grass, of one interminable brown where it is ploughed, and where it is not, covered with great slabs of granite which give it the appearance of a huge ptarmigan hill rolled flat. Where the people who scratch the ground come from it is impossible to guess, for the Campagna is not more desolate. Nevertheless Spanish farmers pay their rents to the day invariably, bringing the money to Madrid themselves, and are always clamouring for leases. This description of the country, however, applies only to the Castilles. North of Burgos the valleys are as grassy and the hills as well wooded as in England; indeed, the Basque Provinces are very like South Wales, and the streams look very troutish.

I daresay you will want to know something of the morals of the place, and they are soon told. Whenever one asks at the Opera, or at Court, or indeed anywhere who such and such a lady is, the answer is always in the same form: she is the wife of D——, the daughter of C——, and Mr. So-and-so is her lover. It is really no exaggeration to say that this is invariable. I have met with only one exception, and that is the wife of Sotomayor, who was in London, and who has Anglo-Saxon blood in him, and may therefore be considered as not in point, but nobody believes that even in his case such a state of things can last. I am convinced that if a Peerage

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were published in Madrid, as in London, the name of the happy individual would be put down as much as a matter of course as if it were the motto or country seat of the family. Some few ladies have made themselves notorious for inconstancy and versatility in this branch of their establishment, and then they begin to be a little talked about; but I believe this to be rather the exception than the rule, and certainly the instances in which fidelity continues to be affichéd, long after the ladies have got fat and pursy and the Caballeros grey-headed, are numerous.

I have written a much longer yarn than I, or probably you, intended, but it 's your own fault. And now I am not quite sure how it will go, for I have just heard that Bulwer's messenger is not likely to start for some days. Probably I shall be in England myself soon after you get it, for unless the weather (which has been raining for the past week) tempts me to Toledo and Aranjuez, I shall not stay here after Sunday next. Adios! Remember me to Lady M., &c.

Ever yours sincerely,

CANNING.

September 26th.—We left Achnacarry, embarked at Corpach, and arrived at Greenock that evening. Had a very bad passage. The scene in the cabin was disgusting, as no preparation had been made on board for people who were ill, and no conveniences whatever provided. Yet nobody could go on deck without being drenched. We reached Chillingham Castle on the 27th.

November 5th.—Arrived at Knowsley, and reached London on the 10th.

November 19th.—I went to London for the meeting of Parliament. I hear Ministers intend to propose an increase in the income tax. Affairs in the City are very bad. There is to be a meeting at Lord Stanley's on the 23rd of Peers and Commons, when he is to give them an outline of the policy he intends to follow this session.

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December 23rd.—The papers have been full of the dispute in the Church respecting Doctor Hampden's appointment to the bishopric of Hereford. The opposition evidently comes from the Puseyite party, and would therefore be of little value in the estimation of the true Protestant, had not Hampden laid himself open to censure by some expressions in his writings, which he may perhaps be able to explain. The Bishop of Oxford threatens to put him on his trial for heterodoxy, from which I hope he may be able to clear himself, though if he is tried by a Court composed of Puseyites he will certainly be condemned.

Christmas Day.—Heron Court. The rivers here are all flooded.

1848

February 9th.—I got a letter to-day from my brother, who has attended the meeting held by Lord Stanley, and he gives an account of the proceedings relative to Lord George Bentinck's resignation of the leadership of the Protectionist party in the House of Commons. Lord Stanley made a very eloquent speech praising Lord George Bentinck's abilities and devotion to the party, &c., &c., and expressed great regret at the misunderstanding which led to his resignation, and wished to induce him to recal his determination. Mr. Banks then read to the meeting a letter from Lord George announcing his intention to resign, saying that he would serve the party with as much zeal and devotion as he had hitherto done. Mr. Beresford then got up to

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explain, and proved himself by his own account to have acted most injudiciously, for he confessed to having written to Lord George stating that his party were dissatisfied with him, but added that he did so without authority. This, however, was enough for Lord George, who is a very proud man, to give up the leadership at once, and he immediately wrote to Mr. Banks announcing his intention to do so. After these explanations Lord Granby's[1] name was mentioned as being a fit person to succeed Lord George, but Lord Stanley said they must settle among themselves whom they would elect, and dismissed the party. An arrangement was made to meet next day at Mr. Banks's to elect a leader.

February 10th.—Lord Granby has been chosen leader of the Protectionist party without opposition. A deputation has been sent to Lord George, thanking him for his services, and expressing regret at his retirement. My brother adds that there is no doubt Peel has lately declared to his party that he never means to take office again. If this is really the case, we may expect some of them to come over to us. It appears strange that in these proceedings Disraeli's name was not put forward, but whoever may in future take the lead in the House of Commons by election he must virtually and practically hold that office. There can be no doubt that there is a very strong feeling among Conservatives in the House of Commons against him. They are puzzled and alarmed by his mysterious manner, which has much of the foreigner about it, and are incapable of understanding and appreciating the great abilities which certainly underlie, and, as it were, are concealed by this mask. In the insurrection in Sicily the King's troops have been beaten. The insur-

[1] Afterwards Duke of Rutland.

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gents want the Constitution of 1812, which was guaranteed by England, but since revoked by the King, and apparently without opposition from this country. The King still resists, but has granted the Constitution to Naples, which has been received with acclamation. There are two English ships of war at Palermo and Messina for the protection of the English residing there, but with the exception of the bombardment having been delayed twenty-four hours through the remonstrances of the Consuls in those towns, there has been no interference on either side.

February 13*th.*—The second reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill was passed by a majority of 73 in the Commons. Lord Granby has refused the leadership, and the whole Protectionist party is in confusion. A rescript from the Pope has appeared, counselling the Roman Catholic clergy to adopt a more moderate course, not to meddle in politics, and condemning denunciations from the altar and all violence. This has produced a great sensation. Of course the Irish priests say the Pope has been deceived, but the English Roman Catholics are inclined to obey.

February 16*th.*—The King of Naples has granted the Constitution of 1812 to his Sicilian subjects, which, however, they have only accepted on condition that they are to have a Parliament at Palermo. He has not yet agreed to this, but he has published an amnesty for political offences, has withdrawn his troops from Sicily, and they have arrived at Naples in a wretched state. The cavalry killed all their horses, eight hundred in number, before they left Palermo. The King of Sardinia has also promised a Constitution to his subjects on the model of the French one; and the Pope and

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the Duke of Tuscany also promise something of the same sort to their people. Austria, Russia, and Prussia have protested through their Ministers at the Court of Naples against the Constitution granted by the King, as being at variance with the secret article in their treaties with Naples.

February 17th.—Paris is in a great state of excitement, in consequence of the Government having forbidden the Reform banquet taking place. There was a violent scene in the Chamber of Deputies, and the Opposition persevered in their determination to attend the banquet, which is fixed for the 20th. There has also been a great disturbance at Munich, the people insisting upon Lola Montes being sent away. The King, however, is so infatuated with her, that he actually dismissed his Prime Minister, Prince Wallenstein, who had advised him to expel her, and appointed in his place M. de Mauren, who had signed the decree conferring upon her the title of Countess Landsfeld.[1]

[1] This was a most remarkable woman, and may be said by her conduct at Munich to have set fire to the magazine of revolution which was ready to burst forth all over Europe, and which made the year 1848 memorable. I made her acquaintance by accident as I was going up to London from Heron Court in the railway. The Consul at Southampton asked me to take charge of a Spanish lady, who had been recommended to his care, and who had just landed. I consented to do this, and was introduced by him to a remarkably handsome person, who was in deep mourning, and who appeared to be in great distress. As we were alone in the carriage, she of her own accord informed me in bad English that she was the widow of Don Diego Leon, who had lately been shot by the Carlists after he was taken prisoner, and that she was going to London to sell some Spanish property that she possessed, and give lessons in singing, as she was very poor. On arriving in London she took some lodgings, and came to my house to a little concert which I gave, and sang some Spanish ballads. Her accent was foreign, and she had all the appearance of being what she pretended to be. She sold different things, such as veils, &c., to the party present, and received a good deal of patronage. Eventually she took an engagement for the ballet at the Opera House, but her dancing was very inferior. At last she was recognised as an

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February 18*th.*—I went to London to vote on Lord Eglinton's amendment to the Diplomatic Relations with Rome Bill, in which he moved that no ecclesiastic should be sent as Ambassador or Minister to this country, although a layman might be received. It appears that the King of Naples has played false with the Sicilians, having given them, not the Constitution of 1812, but the French one, which they will not accept. The Emperor of Russia supports Austria in her Italian policy, and the latter has forbidden the Grand Duke of Tuscany to grant a Constitution to his subjects, threatening that if the people are clamorous, Austria would march an army into Tuscany at once. Mr. Gladstone has supported the Jewish Disabilities Bill, and Peel has changed his mind and vote upon that subject.

February 19*th.*—Lola Montes has been driven out of Munich, the King having at last perceived that further resistance to the will of the people would endanger his crown, as the troops refused to act against the populace. When she left the city the mob broke into her house, which they plundered, and destroyed all her property, including some very fine pictures. The next morning she re-entered Munich, but fortunately for her she was arrested and sent away by force, for if she had been recognised by the people her life would have been sacrificed, their rage against her being unbounded. It appears she has long indisposed the whole

impostor, her real name being Mrs. James, and Irish by extraction, and had married an officer in India. Her engagement at the Opera was cancelled, she left the country, and retired to Munich. She was a very violent woman, and actually struck one of the Bavarian generals with her riding whip as he was reviewing the troops. The King became perfectly infatuated with her beauty and cleverness, and gave her large sums of money, with a title which she afterwards bore when she returned to England.

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kingdom against her by the unlimited influence she exercised over the King, who was completely governed by her and did nothing without her sanction. She made him change his Ministers three times in one year, because they had in some way offended her, and, in short, she ruled the kingdom despotically. The last event which led to her disgrace was an order given to the King to close the University on account of the offence given her by a majority of the students, who made a practice of insulting a class amongst them protected by her, called 'Alemanen,' and who wore her colours. The remainder of the students slighted them on every occasion and refused them any satisfaction, declaring them unworthy of being treated as men of honour. This led to a disturbance. Lola was insulted, it is said even roughly treated, by the people, and the University was closed. When the students were marching peaceably in procession they were attacked by the troops, a fight ensued, and two or three men were killed and several wounded. The mob then surrounded the Palace, insisted upon Lola Montes being dismissed and the University re-opened, which the King was forced to grant.

February 22*nd*.—Lord John Russell has made his financial statement and announced his intention of increasing the income tax to five per cent., to be levied in the same manner as it is at present. He gives no hope of ever taking off the three per cent., and though he only asked for this increase for two years, it is probable, if granted, it will never be taken off again.

February 23*rd*.—Lord Stanley means to oppose any

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increase of the income tax, and limit the present one to three years instead of five.

February 24th.—Accounts from Paris are very alarming. The King, on the 21st, prohibited the banquet of the Reformers, and issued an order that none of the National Guard were to appear in the streets in uniform except by order of their officers. The Opposition Deputies then countermanded the banquet and begged the people to make no disturbance, declaring that they would impeach the Ministers, and if beaten would all resign their seats. It was feared the people would not submit quietly, and that there would be bloodshed, as thousands were collected in the Champs Elysées. The troops of the line in Paris amount to a hundred thousand men, and are well provided with artillery, as are also the forts, the Government having foreseen the disturbance and taken every precaution to suppress it, but the National Guards are not to be trusted.

February 25th.—The disturbances in Paris have assumed a very formidable character. Everything now depends upon the energy of the Government, for the people are determined not to give in. The troops of the line, with the exception of one regiment, the 5th—the same that joined the people in 1830—have remained faithful, but the National Guards have gone over to the rebels. On Tuesday night, the 22nd, the mob obtained some arms and threw up barricades, from behind which they attacked the Municipal Guards, but were beaten and several prisoners taken. The troops bivouacked in the Boulevards, the markets, and other public places, and the mob burned the depôt of omnibuses and the guardhouse in the Champs Elysées. The Place du Carrousel, the Place

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de la Concorde, the bridges and other places in the neighbourhood of the Tuileries were crowded with troops, and there were forty pieces of cannon on the Esplanade of the Invalides. The *rappel* was sounded early on Wednesday morning, but not one-tenth of the National Guard answered the summons. The Municipal Guard seems, on the contrary, to have behaved gallantly, though some fraternised with the National Guard, and though they did not actually join the people, they refused to fire upon them; but the majority did their duty. There is a great want of energy on the part of the Government; all the Ministers have resigned, and M. Odilon Barrot has impeached M. Guizot.

February 26th.—The insurrection gains ground in Paris. There has been a great deal of fighting and many lives lost. The mob have broken up the railroad and stopped all communication with Paris. If Louis Philippe is driven from the throne, nothing remains but a Republic.

February 27th.—Louis Philippe abdicated on the 24th in favour of his grandson, the Comte de Paris, and left Paris immediately afterwards with an escort of dragoons for Neuilly. The Duchess of Orleans went to the Chamber of Deputies with her sons and the Duc de Nemours to ask for protection, which was granted, but they refused to recognise the right of the Comte de Paris or the Regency of the Duc de Nemours. Directly after the royal family had left the Tuileries the mob broke in, gutted the palace, and destroyed everything except the throne, which they paraded about the streets in derision. A Provisional Government has been formed in Paris, of which M. Lamartine is at the head. The Municipal Guard behaved with great courage and

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fidelity, but were not supported, and have been almost all massacred.

February 28th.—Left Heron Court for London. The Duc de Nemours, with one of his children, and the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg (Princess Clementina), arrived last night at the French Embassy. The Duchesse de Nemours with her children are still in France, and nothing is known of them or of the Queen, except that they reached Dreux in safety, and there agreed to separate. The King had only five francs in his possession, but the Queen had fortunately carried off about fifteen hundred francs, which they divided. None of the fugitives had been able to carry away any of their property. The Duc de Nemours appeared very much dejected, overcome with fatigue and anxiety. From what is at present known of the events of last Thursday, it appears that MM. Thiers and Odilon Barrot are the cause of Louis Philippe's dethronement, for they had pledged themselves, if he would make them Ministers and order the troops to cease firing, quiet would be restored immediately. Till this the majority of the troops had remained faithful, but they were so disgusted at the cowardice which apparently dictated these orders that they joined the insurgents. The nomination of M. Thiers did not in the slightest affect the insurrection. The mob attacked and took the Palais Royal after great sacrifice of life, and the King being informed that they were coming to attack the Tuileries, signed his abdication in favour of his grandson, and left the palace with the Queen and the Duchesse de Nemours. The Duchess of Orleans, with her two sons and the Duc de Nemours, went to the Chamber of Deputies, where they ran the greatest danger, the mob having broken in and pointed their muskets

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at the Royal Family. The Deputies, however, surrounded them, and they got out in safety; but the rush was so tremendous that the two children were separated from the Duchess and recovered afterwards with great difficulty. In the House of Commons the Government have declared their intention not to interfere with the fall of the King and not to intermeddle in any way with the internal affairs of France. They then announced the abandonment by the Government of the increased income tax. The Duchesse de Montpensier arrived at the French Embassy yesterday. She was recognised at Abbeville and ran great danger of her life, being saved by having taken refuge in a private house and escaping through the back door. Nothing is known of the rest of the Royal Family. The French Provisional Government have proclaimed a Republic. A steamer arrived yesterday morning at Southampton crowded with passengers from Havre, who say the town is full of English waiting to embark. The Government have, therefore, despatched several steamers to the different ports on the French coast to take them off.

March 1st.—No news of Louis Philippe or the rest of the Royal Family. A steamer under the command of Captain Smithett has been sent to cruise off Dieppe and Tréport in hopes of finding them, but returned yesterday and telegraphed 'No passengers.' It is reported to-day that the Duchess of Orleans and her two children, accompanied by General Lefèvre and M. Guizot, have landed at Jersey from a cutter. Order is now restored in Paris, though not, indeed, in the provincial towns, and travelling is attended with danger. Neuilly has been burned, and one hundred and twenty of the mob who were lying dead drunk in the cellars were roasted alive unknown to their companions. There is

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a detailed account in to-day's papers of the departure of the King from Paris. He left the Tuileries on foot, leaning on the arm of the Queen, preceded and followed by a party of the National Guard on horseback, who escorted him to the Place Louis Quinze, where he and the Queen got into a small carriage with one horse which was waiting for them, and drove away at full gallop. It is said they arrived at Dreux the same night, slept there, and started next morning for Vernon in a hired carriage.

March 2nd.—It is said that the Count de Flahault, who is Ambassador at Vienna, will lose his Embassy in consequence of a letter to M. Guizot, which has been found since the formation of the rebel Government, in which he begs him to unite with M. de Metternich to persuade the Pope to allow an Austrian army to pass through his dominions and assist the King of Naples. The French Government have offered the Embassy of London to M. de Jarnac, who is at present Secretary to the Embassy, if he will serve them with sincerity. He has very nobly refused, saying that he could not engage to do so, and therefore begged they would replace him directly. The Duchesse de Nemours and the Duc de Montpensier arrived yesterday morning at Southampton, and sent a messenger to London to announce the fact. The Duc de Nemours was too lazy to go down to meet them, and made the excuse that he could not leave the Duchesse de Montpensier, though in reality she was under the care of Madame Van de Weyer at the Belgian Embassy. It is now known where Louis Philippe and the Queen are. Lady Carrington called this morning and told us she met Captain Smithett in the street, and he told her he had been at Dieppe, having a most awful passage, starting in the very

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height of the storm, and in fact spoke as if he had run very great danger. He had been summoned before the authorities at Dieppe, who seemed to suspect what he had come for, and cross-questioned him very closely. In the meantime he sent a boat to Tréport for information, and having received a despatch from some one unknown who said he was going to Belgium, and supposing it to be from the King, he rejoined his ship and returned to England. The Duc de Montebello had a narrow escape at Havre, being saved by the courage of the captain of the steamer, who refused to allow the French police to search his ship, and told them that he would not do so unless they killed him first. They began to bluster, when he added, 'I'll tell you what it is, if you don't leave my ship by the time I say "Jack Robinson," I'll take you all over to England!' and called upon his men to get up steam and set sail, upon which they tumbled into their boat as quickly as they could. When the Duc de Nemours was crossing to Dover the Duke and Duchess of Saxe-Coburg were in the same ship, but remained below in utter ignorance of his being on board. The Duchess had just been saying that if she knew he was safe she would be happy, for it appears he was the one she loved best of all her family, when some one who had recognised him informed her that he was on deck. She immediately rushed up to him, but he was so disguised that she made a mistake, and threw herself into the arms of the gentleman who accompanied him, who, not knowing her and being taken by surprise, pushed her away. This must have annoyed the Duc, who, knowing her to be on board, had kept out of the way to avoid a scene. It will always be a question whether the Duc de Nemours and the Duc de Montpensier ought to have fought for the Crown in defiance of the old King's orders to

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the contrary. The troops had been kept inert from Tuesday morning to Wednesday night in the streets, and without food, and the mob finding this supplied them with all they wanted, and of course fraternised with them.

March 3rd.—Prince Louis Bonaparte is already returned from Paris. I met him to-day, and he said that M. Lamartine, who is at the head of the Government of the Republic at Paris, had received him very civilly, said that his great name might at this moment produce a commotion which it was desirable to avoid, and therefore, if he wished well to France, begged him to leave it directly. This Prince Louis did, and seems rather flattered than otherwise at being sent away. It is rumoured that Louis Philippe has arrived in England, but no one knows where the Duchess of Orleans is, and it is still a matter of doubt whether the Duchesse de Nemours has yet come.

March 4th.—Louis Philippe arrived yesterday at Newhaven, but, owing to the state of the tide, could not land before twelve at night, when he and the Queen drove to the Bridge Inn, which is little better than a public-house. The landlady did her best to give them a reception befitting their rank, and it appears the King and Queen were so pleased with her hospitality and the kind way in which they were treated, that they refused all offers, of which many were made, to remove to a more comfortable house, and determined to remain there until they received an answer to the letter written by them to our Queen, which was sent off by express. The account given of the King's departure from Paris was quite correct, except that it was only the Queen who accompanied him on Thursday night to Dreux,

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where they stayed the night at a farmer's on whose fidelity they could rely, and who procured them disguises. The King shaved off his whiskers and discarded his wig, wearing a cap and cloak, which disguised him completely. They arrived at Dreux before daylight on Friday, and reached Honfleur at five on Saturday morning. There they remained a short time at the house of a gentleman the King knew, then crossed to Trouville, intending to embark there, but, owing to the boisterous state of the weather, they were obliged to remain there two days, when, finding they could not get away, they returned to Honfleur with the intention of embarking from that place, but the weather still continuing rough they remained there till Thursday. In the meantime information was secretly conveyed to the 'Express,' the Southampton steamer, that it would be required to take a party from Havre to England, so it and some other vessels cruised off the French coast. On Thursday afternoon the King and Queen, with Generals Dumas and Rumigny, embarked in a fishing-boat, found the 'Express' waiting at Havre with her steam up, and at nine they set sail for England, where they arrived the next morning. The moment the King set his foot on shore he exclaimed, 'Thank God, I am on British ground!' They arrived in London on the 4th, and went immediately to Claremont. Great respect was shown to them, everybody taking off their hats as they passed.

March 6th.—There was a great mob in Trafalgar Square, called together by Mr. Cochrane to petition against the income tax; they plundered a baker's shop and broke the lamps at Buckingham Palace. They also attempted to win over the sentries there, saying, 'Shake hands, my fine fellows,

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and let us fraternise as the French have done;' to which they replied in the English shibboleth and turned out the guard. The crowd then scampered off.

March 15th.—M. Ledru Rollin has addressed a revolutionary circular to the Departments. He tells them that their power both over the civil and over the military force is unlimited, and that they must exercise it in getting the most violent Republicans elected. M. Carnot has also addressed a circular to the schoolmasters, desiring them to tell their pupils that education and property were not the least requisite for Deputies, who made better statesmen when least learned and experienced.

March 16th.—Madame de Bonneval, who has just arrived from Paris, called. She says it is completely ruined, and that the distress is dreadful; no enthusiasm is felt with the Republic, and in the Departments the feeling is strong against it.

March 17th.—The Bank of France has suspended cash payments. This measure has been recommended by M. Emile de Girardin in the 'Presse.' However deplorable, it could not be avoided, as the rush upon the Bank during the whole of the 15th was tremendous. The applicants were so numerous that they were obliged to place themselves *en queue*, as at the entrances of theatres. We gave a dinner, and Prince Louis Bonaparte was one of the guests.

March 18th.—Lady Malmesbury got a letter from her uncle, the Duc de Gramont, expressing great apprehension for their lives, fearing that the brigands who filled the

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streets might at any moment attack and plunder their house. Their only defence was the National Guard, the Government not having the power, even if they had the will, to protect anybody. M. Lamartine, the only one in whom the Moderate party could feel confidence, was in a minority and could do nothing. The workpeople had got up a counter demonstration to that of the National Guard, and from thirty to fifty thousand men had marched to the Hôtel de Ville. It is said that two hundred thousand men of the Paris mob are provided with arms, and, except for the want of cannon, perfectly able to resist the National Guard and very likely defeat them. The troops of the line have been sent out of Paris by the Government, who thus show that they mean to rely upon the support of the rabble. There was a great dispute between the members of the Government on the subject of a decree proposed by Ledru Rollin and not approved by the rest. Finding himself overruled, he threatened to call in the mob, as he did on February 24, when the Duchess of Orleans and the Duc de Nemours went to the Chamber of Deputies. At this infamous threat Garnier Pagès got up, pulled a pistol from his pocket, and told him if he moved a step towards the door he would blow his brains out. Up to this time, however, there is no disposition among the people to shed blood, and the man who exhibited a model of a new sort of *guillotine* which he had invented, and which he said could cut off a thousand heads in half an hour, was nearly stoned to death. Lady Alice Peel came to see my wife, her object being to sound her on the subject of a reconciliation between the Protectionists and the Peelites, who said that Lord Stanley would be glad to unite the party again, but could say nothing about Sir Robert Peel. Lady Alice said that her husband the General was quite on our

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side and anxious for a Protectionist Government with Lord Stanley at the head, but that we must throw over Lord George Bentinck and Disraeli. This Lady Malmesbury told her was out of the question, adding that at this moment we had no wish to turn out the Whigs.

March 20th.—There have been great disturbances at Berlin. The troops fired on the people, who were led by the students, killing ten and wounding about a hundred of them. They then dispersed, but the town remains in a very unquiet state. Princess Esterhazy writes that there has been a very alarming insurrection at Vienna, and the town was in the hands of the mob, who pillaged and got the better of the troops, who only amounted to eight thousand men. Prince Metternich had fled, which had in some degree pacified the people. They have burned his villa and destroyed his beautiful collection of pictures and statues. Hungary has declared itself an independent kingdom, and chosen one of the Archdukes for its King.

March 21st.—Accounts from Germany are very alarming. Fresh disturbances at Berlin; the troops charged the mob and were repulsed, and the King had fled to Potsdam. It is said that a Republic is proclaimed at Vienna, but the rumour is doubted.

March 22nd.—There has been a second outbreak at Berlin. The troops charged the people, and it is said ten cannon shots were fired, but the tumult soon subsided. At Vienna things are quiet since the first insurrection, and the people seem satisfied with the Emperor's concessions. At Berlin the King grants entire liberty of the press, and

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convokes the Diet for April 2, and he also publishes a manifesto declaring his intention to put himself at the head of the national movement in Germany. The King of Naples has also agreed to all the demands of the Sicilians through Lord Minto. He gives them a separate Parliament, to be elected by universal suffrage, everybody to be eligible as a Deputy who possesses ten pounds a year. Paris continues quiet, but the panic increases. All the rich people have turned off their servants, and nobody buys anything but strict necessaries. Imprisonment for debt is abolished, so debts are not paid, and there is hardly any silver in circulation. The Marquis of Hertford, who is anxious to come back to England, has not been able to do so from the impossibility of getting any money to pay his journey, and has sent to England for some. The Government have laid an embargo upon his plate and furniture, and have forbidden him and everybody to carry off any heavy luggage from Paris. The same has happened to Lord Pembroke. The mob burned the carts in which he was carrying off his property, and destroyed everything in them. M. Guizot says he expects a famine in Paris, as the country people are beginning to be afraid of bringing their corn or cattle into the city, thinking they are not likely to be paid for them.

March 28th.—Paris is quiet, but the scarcity of money increases; the dividends are paid in paper, with the exception of a very small proportion of silver, and tradesmen prefer giving credit to taking paper in payment of their bills. Sebastiani has had a thousand pounds of silver plate melted down into five-franc pieces.

March 29th.—Went to a party at Devonshire House. The

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Prince of Prussia[1] was there. He is a very soldierlike-looking man, with a determined but very harsh countenance. He is middle-aged. The Comte de Montemolin was also there, a little insignificant-looking man.

March 30th.—The King of Sardinia has issued a proclamation to the people of Lombardy and Venice, promising to assist them in regaining their liberties. It was dated 23rd, and on the same day the Austrians evacuated the town of Milan and retreated upon Mantua. Marshal Radetsky held out for three or four days to give time to the Emperor of Austria's troops to arrive from the frontier, and then formed a junction with them behind the Mincio, guarding Mantua. The Piedmontese troops then entered the Milanais. Parma and Modena have revolted, and also the district of Como. The Austrian garrisons have been taken prisoners and disarmed. An insurrection at Venice, Trieste, and throughout the whole Austrian dominions in Italy. Paris is quiet, the population passing their time in processions. There was one of wet-nurses, and another of laundresses, to whom Lamartine said, 'Repassez, mesdames!'

March 31st.—Venice has proclaimed a Republic, and all the towns in the Austrian dominions in Italy are in open revolt. The Sicilians have refused the Constitution offered them by the King of Naples and guaranteed by England, and want a Republic.

April 5th.—The alarm about the Chartists increases. Everybody expects that the attack will be serious. Every precaution is taken, and all the troops within reach have

[1] Afterwards Emperor of Germany, in 1871.

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been ordered to London, even those at Windsor, whose duty is to be performed by the Buckinghamshire Yeomanry. The bridges in London are to be defended with cannon, and all, therefore, depends upon the fidelity of the troops. Doubts are expressed as to some amongst them, and also about the police, but I cannot believe a word against either. General Lord De Ros says the troops are to be concealed as early as four o'clock on the morning of the 10th, in the neighbourhood of Kennington Common. Their officers are to be present at the meeting in plain clothes. The whole force, with its artillery, is to march out and fire upon the mob. The soldiers are all perfectly loyal, and furious with this mischievous attempt to disturb the peace.

April 8th.—Lady Jersey says that the Duke of Wellington has told her there is not the slightest danger to be apprehended, and he advised the ladies to drive about as usual.

April 9th.—The alarm to-day is very general all over the town. The Government have made great preparations, though the extreme precautions that are known to have been taken have, of course, increased the people's fears. The Duke of Wellington is to command the troops, and the orders he has given are that the police are to go first to disperse the meeting; if resistance is offered and they are likely to be beaten, then the troops are instantly to appear, and the cannon to open with shell and grenades, infantry and cavalry are to charge —in short, they are to be made an example of. The Admiralty is strongly garrisoned and filled with arms, as also are the Horse Guards and the Treasury. There are eight hundred men in Buckingham Palace with cannon; and steamers and gunboats on the river. The Ministers are to

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assemble in Downing Street to be ready for any emergency, but both Houses of Parliament will sit as usual.

April 10th.—My five keepers have arrived at my house this morning, each armed with a double-barrelled gun, and determined to use them if necessary. A great many have done the same, and filled their houses with trusty men. A battalion of Grenadier Guards is at the Horse Guards, besides the usual force of Life Guards. The mob was not very considerable, and the best behaved I ever saw, and though there were very few police or special constables to keep order, there seemed to be no excitement—nothing but curiosity. Everybody walked about as safely and as quietly as on any other day. We went to Lord Carrington's house to see what would happen. I was much amused by seeing an old gentleman, who rode up in front of the Horse Guards, stop his horse, let the reins fall on his neck, and quietly wind up and set his watch by the clock, an operation which lasted fully three or four minutes. The mob took no notice whatever of him, although I expected they would have laughed at him. Among the special constables stationed round Trafalgar Square, Prince Louis Napoleon was on duty. The way the Chartist meeting ended was certainly very absurd and has covered them with ridicule. A little before one o'clock, Mr. Mayne, the chief officer of police, rode up to Kennington Common, where there were from fifteen to twenty thousand Chartists assembled, accompanied by Lord Duncan. Not a soldier was to be seen, and only two policemen. Mr. Mayne sent to beg Feargus O'Connor to come and speak to him. He did so, as pale as ashes, trembling from head to foot, and said to Mr. Mayne, 'What do you wish me to do? I am ready to do anything you advise me.' Mr. Mayne answered,

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'What do you intend to do? Do you intend to persevere in your plan of marching in procession? for if you do we must prevent you; though at the same time we have orders to facilitate the presentation of your petition, if it is presented in a proper manner.' This seemed greatly to relieve Feargus O'Connor, who apparently expected to have been arrested, for he exclaimed in a delighted tone, 'Thank you, Mr. Mayne; you are my best friend. Shake hands, I'll do anything you like.' He then turned to the people and said, 'Fools! I always said you were fools; this is not the way you ought to act. You are a parcel of fools. Mr. Mayne is the best friend I have in the world. Disperse directly and go home.' Thus ended this ridiculous exhibition, which had created universal alarm, and from which, but for the extraordinary precautions taken by the Duke and the Government, and the loyalty and courage shown by all classes in uniting for the preservation of order, serious consequences would have ensued. Mr. Smith O'Brien made his appearance in the House and denied having gone to Paris to ask for assistance, saying he only went to sympathise with the French; but Sir George Grey read his own letter to Duffy, in which he said the French were ready to send fifty thousand men to Ireland. O'Brien had not a word to answer. I hear everybody means to cut him, and when he said, in his speech in the House, 'I have been called a traitor,' the yells and shouts were terrific, and lasted so long that the newspapers say it was dreadful even for an indifferent spectator to witness such a scene.

April 12th.—The news from Lombardy is better. General Radetsky has concentrated his forces and entered Verona, and General Walmoden, Mantua. The Chartist petition, which Feargus O'Connor had stated to be signed by six million

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persons, had less than two million signatures, or what purported to be signatures, appended to it. Whole pages were written by one hand, and many of the names gross forgeries, such as 'Victoria Rex,' 'Duke of Wellington,' and a great many such words as 'Pugnose,' 'Flatnose,' &c.

April 15th.—Lady Tankerville, Lady Malmesbury, and I went to Claremont to pay our respects to the exiled sovereigns. On our arrival we were ushered into the drawing-room by a person out of livery; it was difficult to say whether he was a servant or a general. Madame de Montjoie came in immediately and said the King and Queen were busy writing. However, in a few minutes the King entered the room, and was soon after followed by the Queen. They were both looking well in health, but in wretchedly low spirits; the King in particular could hardly hold up his head. He appeared anxious about the elections, from which he evidently anticipated favourable results, and it was clear he still entertains some faint hopes, which are probably kept up by his friends in their desire to please him rather than tell him the honest truth. He told us that Lord Brougham had not been naturalised in France, as all acts of naturalisation were signed by him, and were not valid without his signature. M. Guizot then came in, and told the King that he had heard that morning from Count Dietrichstein that Prince Metternich was not coming to England. Mr. Monckton-Milnes [1] then arrived and sat by the King, while Lady Tankerville and I were talking to the Queen. We saw the King suddenly start up and exclaim, 'Ah! c'est le dernier coup!' The Queen jumped up and inquired, 'Qu'est-ce que c'est, mon ami? Calmez-vous!' to which he replied by repeating, 'C'est le dernier coup!' It then

[1] Now Lord Houghton.

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appeared that Mr. Monckton-Milnes had informed him public opinion thought his son the Duc de Nemours had not shown the courage the occasion required. Why he did so I cannot understand. In the evening I told Lord Palmerston of our visit to Claremont, which seemed to interest him. He hoped it was true that Prince Metternich was not coming to England, as this *réunion* of foreign statesmen would look too much like a congress. He suspected the King of Sardinia's illness was feigned; that all countries wanted us to take their part, and thought it very ill-natured our refusing to do so, but that our best policy was to keep aloof and let them settle their own quarrels.

April 17th.—The report of the defeat of the Austrians is true. The Piedmontese attacked them at the bridge of Goritz on the 8th. The Austrians retreated after blowing up the bridge, but not having done it effectually, the Piedmontese crossed over, took four pieces of cannon and two thousand prisoners, driving the Austrians upon Mantua. But this is the Sardinian account, and certainly exaggerated.

April 30th.—Heron Court. Mr. Stanley left us. Lords Canning, Castlereagh, and Salisbury have been fishing here, but with no luck. Yesterday Lords Canning, Granville, Douglas, and Rivers came from Highcliffe, where they had been staying for the hunting in the New Forest. They were all so disgusted with the danger of the ground that they declared they never would hunt there again. One man, a groom, was killed, three gentlemen very much hurt, and Lord Granville had his face cut by the boughs of a tree against which his horse carried him. In Paris everything is quiet, and the elections have gone off peaceably. Lamar-

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tine is at the head of every list, and Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc at the bottom. There is, therefore, every reason to hope that the Moderates will have a majority in the Assembly. Yet the language at the clubs is of the most violent description. There is no doubt if these men get the upper hand the horrors of 1793 will be repeated.

May 8th.—It is feared if the Austrians continue to be successful the French will interfere, as a large sum has been decreed for the expenses of the army. M. Dietrichstein[1] appears to expect this, and is very much out of spirits at the state and prospects of his country. The Danes and Prussians have accepted our mediation. The former had blockaded Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen.

May 12th.—There have been serious disturbances at Rome to force the Pope to declare war against Austria, which he was unwilling to do, as Austria threatens in that case to withdraw her spiritual allegiance to Rome. The whole National Guard joined the people, surrounded the houses of the cardinals to prevent their leaving, took possession of the gates of the town, and threatened to depose the Pope if he persisted in refusing to accede to their desire. He at once gave the promise and declared war against Austria, whose Ambassador immediately left Rome, and he consented also to form a new Government, of which no one in Holy Orders would be a member. Count Nugent has not yet effected a junction with Radetsky.

May 15th.—The telegraph from Dover announces that the National Assembly at Paris was again taken possession

[1] Austrian Ambassador in London.

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of by the mob yesterday. After a scene of great confusion, one of the leaders, a man named Hubert, proclaimed the dissolution of the Assembly. Afterwards Barbès, Raspail, and others, followed by an immense mob, went to the Hôtel de Ville, where they established a Terrorist Provisional Government; but a strong body of the National Guard having assembled by this time, arrested them, cleared the National Assembly of the mob, and order was once more restored. The attack upon the National Assembly was not a *coup de main*, as was at first supposed, but the result of a deep-laid conspiracy, in which General Courtois, the Commandant of the National Guard, was chief. He has been superseded.

May 24th.—'La Presse' announces the defeat of Generals Zucchi and Durando, who have been annihilated by Count Nugent, who has taken Palmanova and Treviso. Sir Henry Bulwer has been ordered to leave Madrid by the Spanish Government. The Emperor and Empress of Austria have left Vienna in consequence of a fresh disturbance, and have gone to Innsprück for refuge. Barbès nearly made his escape from Vincennes, having corrupted two of his gaolers, but a third recognised and stopped him. The intention of the conspirators was to set fire to the theatres and murder all the Deputies they met with. Madame Lamartine gives herself such ridiculous airs that she actually refused to receive Lady Louisa Tennison unless she was presented by Lady Normanby, the Ambassadress.

May 25th.—The Jew Bill was thrown out in the Lords by a majority of 35. Mr. Lionel de Rothschild and his brother Anthony were present. I never saw the House so full. The Rothschilds stood like elder sons of Peers on the

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steps of the throne, and would not even retire when the division took place.

June 3rd.—There has been another insurrection at Vienna. On the 26th the Government attempted a reactionary *coup d'état* by ordering the Academical Legion, which was guaranteed by the Constitution, to disband. This they refused to do, and the whole population joined them, barricades were erected, and at last the troops were forced to retire. The people then demanded the continuance of the Academical Legion, and that the Emperor should return in eight days, or appoint one of the Princes to represent him. Both demands were granted. Lord Palmerston has refused to receive Count Miresol, saying that he will only transact business with an accredited agent of the Spanish Government, so that any explanation they have to give must come from the Spanish Ministry.

June 26th.—Fighting in Paris for the last two days. Loss of life dreadful—greater than in most battles. Ten thousand are said to be killed or wounded on the two sides. Lamoricière had two horses killed under him. Horrible cruelties were committed on the wounded soldiers. To prevent them from firing at the windows the mob placed their women and children before them, and fired from behind, thinking themselves safe. But after some time the soldiers returned the fire, killing several women and children, whose bodies were thrown into the streets by their own friends, and perhaps their own relations.

June 30th.—London has been very gay for the last fortnight. We have had the Spitalfields ball, which was

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exceedingly brilliant, and realised 1,000*l.* for the charity, after 1,800*l.* had been deducted for expenses. Lady Londonderry had a quadrille of forty kings and queens, very splendid; but they were received with shouts of laughter mingled with applause as they entered.

July 25th.—Radetsky totally defeated the Piedmontese after four or five days' hard fighting, in which he retook all the positions which it had cost Charles Albert two months to gain. He retired towards Cremona, and the Austrians bombarded Peschiera. The King, being completely beaten, has appealed to the French Republic to send sixty thousand men to his assistance, which they have refused to do, proposing to settle the question by negotiations in concert with us. The long-talked-of rebellion in Ireland has at last broken out and been suppressed by fifty policemen! W. S. O'Brien headed the attack upon the police—or rather sent three thousand men to attack them whilst he concealed himself in a garden close by. O'Brien is proclaimed a traitor, and a reward of five hundred pounds offered for his apprehension, and all who harbour or assist him are proclaimed guilty of high treason. Our army in Ireland is now about forty thousand men, and Lord Hardinge has gone over to take the command. O'Brien has been arrested. Radetsky has driven the Piedmontese out of Cremona, and they are now in full retreat upon Pavia or Milan. The Lombards have behaved infamously towards them, and deserted them in their utmost need, never supplying them with food or wine. They fought most gallantly, and were defeated much more by hunger and fatigue than by the Austrians. The King showed great courage, but no military skill.

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August 8th.—Lord Palmerston yesterday announced that England and France were to mediate between Austria and Italy, which was received with loud cheers. We dined with the Palmerstons, where the French Minister told us he was recalled for speaking to M. Guizot in the street. I can't say I believed him.

August 9th.—We left London for Achnacarry by our usual route through Glasgow, and afterwards by steamer to Corpach.

August 11th.—We passed the autumn at Achnacarry as usual until October 22, during which time we were visited by the Charteris, Wrottesleys, Sidney Herberts, Lord and Lady Bruce, Lord and Lady Jocelyn, the Duke and Duchess of Montrose, &c. On September 25, we heard of the death of Lord George Bentinck, which took place suddenly on the 21st. He was staying at Welbeck, and being engaged to dine with Lord Manvers, he sent his servant with his clothes in a gig, saying he would walk himself, the distance being only about five miles. However, he never arrived, and the servant becoming alarmed drove back to Welbeck and inquired if anybody had seen him. A search was made, and he was found in a field, about a mile from Welbeck, quite dead. He will be a dreadful loss to our party, for he was not only a very clever, but a most honest, courageous, and high-minded man. The inquest was held on the 25th, and it appears from the medical testimony he died from a spasm of the heart, brought on, it is supposed, by excitement and the hard work he has gone through for the last two or three years. There was no disease in the heart or in any other part of his frame, which the surgeon said promised a long life. It must therefore have been quite an

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accidental attack, and one that anyone might have if they overworked themselves. The sensation his death has caused throughout the country is extraordinary, and is likely to bring about very important changes in our party. No one but Disraeli can fill his place. Although of perfectly different natures, they pulled together without any difficulty. It will leave Disraeli without a rival, and enable him to show the great genius he undoubtedly possesses without any comparisons.

October 11*th.*—Mrs. Norton arrived at Achnacarry and stayed with us three or four days. We found her very agreeable and amusing, but her beauty, her manners, and her conversation are all of the most masculine character—and the latter is often coarser than even a man should use. Sidney Herbert told us a funny story about the origin of the name of Trollope. A son of Mrs. Trollope, the authoress, who was with him at Harrow, first told it of his own accord, but used to be made to repeat it by sufficient punchings on the head, as follows:—'Tallyhosier the Norman came over to England with William the Conqueror, and being out hunting one day with his Majesty in the New Forest, happened to kill three wolves, and "*trois*" being the French for "three," "*loup*" for "wolves," he was called "*troisloup*," which with many changes and corruptions during countless centuries became "Trollope"'!

October 14*th.*—We rode to Glenquoich, belonging to 'Bear' Ellice, crossing the Garry, where the water came up above our saddle-girths. The house at Glenquoich is a wooden construction, small but well furnished. There was a party of the Abercorns and Jocelyns staying there. On Sunday 'Bear'

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Ellice read prayers of his own composition, and we afterwards drove to Loch Hourn. The path leading to it is the finest I have yet seen in Scotland, not excepting even Glencoe. The 'Bear' is a regular showman and has got his lesson by heart, and when he is interrupted forgets where he left off.

October 16th.—Returned to Achnacarry and found that a good deal of snow had fallen since yesterday. It is not yet known what the Government mean to do with Smith O'Brien. The jury found him 'Guilty,' but with a recommendation to mercy. A fresh rebellion broke out at Vienna on the 6th, and Count Latour, Minister of War, was murdered. The Emperor fled, and after some severe fighting all through the 6th and 7th, the arsenal was taken and the town remained in the hands of the insurgents.

October 19th.—Matters at Vienna remain the same. The garrison has taken up a position on a hill commanding the town, and the troops are loyal. Jellachich, who is Ban of Croatia, has arrived before Vienna, with the intention of commencing a bombardment. Cholera has broken out again in London.

October 27th.—Left Achnacarry by Loch Laggan, Dunkeld, &c. Stayed at Chillingham Castle.

November 10th.—Went to Knowsley. Heard that Vienna was taken by Windischgrätz on the 31st, on which day the Viennese agreed to capitulate. But after the terms of surrender had been agreed upon, hearing that the Hungarians were advancing to their assistance, they resumed hostilities, and, contrary to good faith, fired upon the Austrians, whc

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were entering to take possession. Windischgrätz thereupon immediately ordered the cannonade and bombardment to begin, by which much damage was done. At the same time Jellachich advanced to meet the Hungarians, whom he totally defeated, and next day, November 1st, Vienna was in possession of the Austrians. We met at Knowsley General Talbot, nearly eighty years of age, a remarkable character. He was one of the early settlers in Canada, where he cleared several acres of land with his own hand in a part of the country which was then quite unpeopled and has now a population of two hundred thousand. He is very rich, and is a sort of king there.

November 24th.—Heron Court. Lord Canning and Adolphus FitzClarence arrived for dinner. The latter commands the Queen's yacht. Count Rossi, whom we used to know at Rome two years ago, and who was then French Ambassador, and since Louis Philippe's abdication Prime Minister of the Pope, has been assassinated on the staircase of the Chamber of Deputies. No attempt was made to arrest the murderer. His son nearly shared the same fate in trying to assist his father.

December 2nd.—News from Italy very bad. After Rossi's murder the mob and soldiers attacked the Quirinal, fired into the windows and killed Cardinal Palma. The Swiss Guards behaved very gallantly, but were too few to oppose any effectual resistance, and the Pope was obliged to accede to the demands of the rabble and appointed Mamiani Prime Minister. For about a week the Pope remained in his palace closely watched, when he succeeded in making his escape on the 24th to Gaeta, where a steamer was waiting

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to take him to France. The Pope was assisted in his escape by Mrs. Dodwell, an Italian lady, who provided disguises.

December 5th.—Went to Tottenham, Lord Ailesbury's place, where there was a large party. It appears that the Pope made his escape from the Quirinal disguised as the Bavarian Minister's servant. Having by this means got downstairs, he mounted the box by the coachman and reached the Bavarian Minister's house; he changed his dress, and, post-horses having already been procured, he started directly for the Neapolitan States. His escape was not discovered for some time, as his attendants had been told he was at prayers and must not be disturbed.

December 11th.—The Emperor of Austria has abdicated in favour of his nephew, the Archduke Franz Josef.

December 20th.—Prince Louis Bonaparte has been proclaimed President of the French Republic by a plebiscite. He had an immense majority over General Cavaignac. This, no doubt, is the first step to the Empire. His name has acted like magic on the nation.

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January 22nd.—The Herberts, Shelburnes, Cannings, and [1] Lord Eddisbury arrived. There has been some hard fighting in India on the banks of the Chenab, which has ended in the retreat of the Sikh army. But this slight

[1] Afterwards Lord Stanley of Alderley.

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advantage, if it can be called one, where we have not taken a single prisoner, gun, or standard, has been dearly bought by the loss of General Cureton and General Havelock, who were killed at the head of their regiments. The former greatly distinguished himself in the late war under Lord Hardinge, and was considered the first cavalry officer in the service.

February 1st.—Parliament opens to-day. All mention of the grievances of the agricultural interest having been omitted from the Queen's Speech, Lord Stanley brings forward an amendment to the Address in these words:—'We regret being compelled humbly to represent to your Majesty that neither your Majesty's relations with foreign Powers, nor the state of the revenue, nor the condition of the commercial and manufacturing interest, are such as in our opinion justify us in addressing your Majesty in language of congratulation, and that a large portion of the agricultural and colonial interests of the Empire is labouring under a state of progressive depression calculated to excite the most serious apprehension and anxiety.' This amendment was received with loud cheers, and was lost only by two, the numbers being 52 to 50. The Ministers complained of having been taken by surprise. It was settled at a dinner the evening before, when Lord Stanley read the Queen's Speech to his guests; and when they were all gone, with the exception of the Duke of Richmond, Lord Redesdale, and myself, he drew up this amendment with us. The Duke of Wellington supported the Government, but he has lost his influence in the House of Lords from constantly taking their part, and I do not believe he can now command more than three or four votes, but this number made the difference

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on this occasion. The same amendment was proposed by Disraeli in the Commons, but not pressed to a division. The triumvirate (Mr. Disraeli, Lord Granby, and Mr. Herries) appointed to be our leaders in that House is an evident failure, the latter two being in the way of the first.

February 19th.—The deposition of the Pope was passed in the Roman Chamber by a majority of 136 out of 144 votes, and the proclamation of the Republic of Rome by 120. His spiritual power is, however, guaranteed, which seems an absurdity. A Republic has also been proclaimed at Florence, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany is at San Stefano, where two English ships of war await his orders.

February 20th.—My audit dinner took place, and was very ill attended, with a great deficit of rents. I made a speech to the farmers to prove to them that the repeal of the malt tax would do them more harm than good, which I feel certain is the case.[1] Prince Louis Napoleon is gaining great popularity. Trade in France is reviving and strangers beginning to flock to Paris. It will soon be as gay and agreeable as ever. The Austrians have entered Ferrara, and are said to be on their way to Rome. There is a very important piece of news, the advance of the Russians against the Hungarians in consequence of the demands for assistance from Austria, which will enable the latter to send a larger force into Italy. Lord Palmerston has made a speech in the House of Commons, charging the King of Naples with every sort of crime and tyranny. Much of it may be true, but a great deal is certainly false, and a great deal exaggerated. Our Ambassador, his brother (Mr. Temple), believes

[1] This proved true, as it cheapened barley when it was repealed in 1880.

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every absurd story that is told against King Bomba, and repeats it to his chief.

February 22nd.—Letters from Vienna announce the complete destruction of the corps of Hungarians commanded by General Bem.

March 3rd.—The Austrians entered Ferrara on February 18, and found that an officer of the garrison and three soldiers had been killed by the townspeople; and that the Austrian Consul had had his house plundered without any effort on the part of the authorities being made to prevent it. Marshal Radetsky determined to punish the people of Ferrara and ensure the safety of the garrison there. A deputation waited on Field-Marshal Haynau, who insisted on the following conditions:—(1) To deliver up the murderers of the soldiers; (2) That six hostages should be given for the fulfilment of the conditions now made; (3) The army of the Pope, their liege lord, to be reinstated; and (4) That a fine of twenty thousand dollars should be paid.

March 5th.—Bad news from India. Lord Gough has again attacked the Sikhs in a very strong position, with an inferior force and exhausted by a long march. Notwithstanding this the troops took their positions, but being unsupported at night they were obliged to abandon them after a tremendous loss of life; nearly one hundred officers and two thousand men being killed or wounded. Some of the cavalry, both native and English, behaved badly. Lord Gough himself fought in the thickest of the *mêlée*, and was not to be found when it was necessary to give orders, and in fact the battle was won in great confusion.

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March 7th.—Lord Stanley asked the Government whether it was true that arms had been furnished to the Sicilian insurgents by our Government, to which Lord Lansdowne replied that it was so, but threw the whole blame on Lord Palmerston, saying that it was done by his orders, and that when the rest of the Government were informed of it they were highly displeased at the measure, and sent an apology to the King of Naples, promising that it would not occur again. Lord Lansdowne in his speech attacked the Sicilian Government, and Lord Brougham when replying said: 'The noble Lord said, "the Sicilian Government," I conclude he means "the insurgents;"' to which Lord Lansdowne answered, 'I mean the Government *de facto*.' 'Yes,' said Lord Brougham, 'that is the Government of the insurgents, and is no more the Government of the Kingdom of all the Sicilies than Smith O'Brien's Committee was the Government of England.'

March 11th.—Sir Charles Napier says that in the position Lord Gough is he must either destroy the Sikhs or be destroyed himself, as there is no middle course.

March 13th.—The second reading of the bill repealing the Navigation Laws passed the Commons last night by a majority of 56. The Peelites voted different ways, some for and some against the bill.

March 14th.—We dined with the Colchesters, and were introduced to Sir Charles Napier. He is a little man with grey hair brushed back from his face, with an immense hooked and pointed nose, small eyes, and wears spectacles, very like the conventional face of a Jew. He is appointed to retrieve our affairs in India, and when the Duke of Wellington

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named him to the post he at first hesitated, until the Duke told him if he didn't go he would go himself. Great notice was taken of Sir Charles, and it was a curious scene altogether, for the Duke of Wellington arrived at the party, and for a few minutes those two great men were engaged in close conversation in the centre of the room, and the company formed a circle around them, though at a respectful distance.

March 17th.—Disraeli's motion for an inquiry into the burthens on land was thrown out by a majority of 91. It gave the Peelites a fair opportunity for a reconciliation with us, as it had nothing to do with Free Trade; they, however, voted in a body with the Whigs.

March 22nd.—The papers contain a proclamation by Radetsky to his soldiers announcing the recommencement of hostilities on the 21st, and stating his intention of marching on Turin. The troops are perfectly well disposed and in high spirits, and there is little doubt that Charles Albert will be made to regret his rash and treacherous conduct. The armistice which was granted by the Austrians six months ago, at a time when they could have conquered the whole of Piedmont, was effected for the purpose of settling the preliminaries of peace, but it has been employed by Charles Albert in making preparations for war. This last time he has been urged on by the Revolutionary party against his own will, preferring to fight the Austrians to losing his crown. It is conjectured that he does not mean to defend Turin, but will throw himself back on Alessandria and Genoa. The invading army is said to be in high spirits and confident of success. The Piedmontese have the disadvantage of being commanded by a foreigner, Chrzanowski, a Pole.

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March 29th.—Was at the Drawing Room. Great complaints made by the ladies that the wives and daughters of the Queen's servants and the ladies' maids of many of themselves obstructed the gallery and had comfortable seats, whilst they themselves were obliged to stand till their carriages came up; this, after standing so long upstairs, was rather hard. A despatch from the French Minister at Turin states that the army of Charles Albert has been forced back on to the mountains of Biela, and that the Austrians have occupied Novara, Vercelli, and Trino. The King has abdicated and fled, and the Government has requested Mr. Abercrombie, our Minister, and himself to apply for an armistice to cover Turin. Charles Albert, after his abdication in favour of the Duke of Savoy, passed through Nice on his way to France. The Piedmontese army has been totally beaten at Novara, but has saved its honour. Lord Mahon told me a story of Mrs. Disraeli, who was paying a visit somewhere in the country, where she met Lord and Lady Hardinge. It happened that Lord Hardinge's room was next to the Disraelis', and the next morning Mrs. Disraeli said to Lord Hardinge at breakfast, 'Oh, Lord Hardinge, I consider myself the most fortunate of women. I said to myself when I woke this morning, "What a lucky woman I am! here I have been sleeping between the greatest orator and the greatest warrior of the day!"' Lady Hardinge did not appear pleased at the statement. I left for Paris.

Saturday, March 30.—I arrived at Paris this morning, and having informed the Prince President, Louis Napoleon, of my being here, he immediately gave me an audience. Lord Stanley being at the head of the Opposition, the Prince seemed anxious to know what he might expect from him if

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he succeeded the present Government. He himself was only just in the saddle, in a position of great difficulty, and very anxious about the future. He said the danger to Europe lay in the absolute necessity of modifying the treaties of 1815, which should be done before a war broke out. What would England do if Austria and Prussia went to war? What would England do if such a modification was proposed by a Congress? France, he said, would not now be jealous of our gaining more power in Egypt, and France and England together could remodel everything. This seems to me to hint at an idea that France would take part with Prussia, and if that Power gained territory in Germany, France would advance her frontier and allow England compensations in the Levant. The Prince said that Russia was, unfortunately, popular with the upper classes in Paris. He regretted the Roman business having turned out so ill, but it had been badly managed. Of France he said the Legitimists were really the most unpatriotic and *bêtes*, and turned the elections here. They hated England the most of any of the different parties. If he (the President) chose to write an article as long as his finger against them in the 'Moniteur,' he could rally the *Rouges* and Republicans round him, but this he would not do. The Royalists wanted him to play the part of Monk, without seeing the difference of the situation of public opinion as well as his own personally. He would in that case betray the 7,000,000 who had elected him, even if he had the power, which he had not. He considered the army staunch. The worst of the situation was that he had not one friend on whom he could depend; he was quite alone, and his only friends were those he did not know. He seemed to me very thin-skinned about the English newspapers and the reports regarding himself.

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He dislikes Lord Aberdeen. He has only 200 votes in the Chamber in his favour.

This conversation I afterwards repeated to Lord Stanley, who agreed with me in thinking that the mind of the President was full of schemes for the revision of the map of Europe, that he was the principal author of those which had been lately published in that sense, that no positive policy was fixed in his mind as long as he considered himself fettered by the Chamber and had not overcome his national enemies by some decided act, but that, although his position was precarious, it was not at all hopeless.

April 1st.—News has been received of a great victory over the Sikhs near Goojerat on February 21. They left their camp on the 11th, and having failed in their endeavour to draw Lord Gough out of his entrenchments, they retired, when it was ascertained that they had gone in the direction of Goojerat, which they took, having surprised the Afghan garrison. They then attempted to cross the Chenab at Sodra, but were met by a detachment of General Whish's army from Mooltan, which had advanced by forced marches to the relief of Lord Gough, where they were attacked by the combined armies of Lord Gough and General Whish, and were completely defeated, losing most of their cannon and all their ammunition and tents.

April 13th.—The Austrians have taken Brescia, and Genoa has surrendered. Jellachich has beaten the Hungarians, who latterly had been very successful, having defeated the Austrians and Russians in several encounters.

April 14th.—I returned from Paris. The President,

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who received me in the most friendly manner, was under the impression that if the Whigs were turned out Peel himself would come in, and that if in that event Lord Aberdeen is our Foreign Minister, he would intrigue for the restoration of the Bourbons, both of which suppositions are erroneous, as we shall certainly never again interfere in the domestic arrangements of France. There is a story now very much talked of in London which, if true, must tell against Lord Palmerston, as to his attention to public affairs. It is this:—The armistice between Denmark and Germany had already been far advanced, and was to expire on April 2, when a courier from Copenhagen arrived in London on March 26, who was the bearer of the final proposals of the Danish Government in answer to the conditions offered by the German Plenipotentiary. This communication was immediately forwarded to Lord Palmerston as the mediating Power, and it was all the more important not only from the nature of its contents, but because the Danish courier was strictly ordered to leave London, with or without an answer, so as to reach Copenhagen again before the conclusion of the armistice. This period of time, short in itself, and decisive as to the settlement of the question of peace or war, accordingly passed away; the courier left London without any notice having been taken of the communication, and his return to Copenhagen was the signal for the precipitate departure of that expedition which has cost the lives of many seamen and the Danish fleet two of its finest ships. At length, on March 29, the Queen happened to hold a Drawing Room, at which some sort of a personal explanation took place between the Ministers and the members of the Diplomatic Corps. It was then ascertained that the all-important despatch upon which the question of peace or

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war turned had not been opened or read by Lord Palmerston during the interval of two or three days allowed for an answer. No answer at all was therefore given. The German Plenipotentiary remained in total ignorance of the fact that any such proposals had been made, as, on the other hand, the Danish Plenipotentiary does not appear to have been clearly apprised of the extent of concessions made in favour of his Government. Thus the messenger of actual war was allowed to leave this country because an English Minister did not read a letter.

April 15th.—Lord Seymour called and said that the story about Lord Palmerston and the Danish despatch was quite true.

April 16th.—A suspension of hostilities has been agreed upon at Genoa, and it does not expire until the 9th. Lord Hardwicke, who commands the 'Vengeance,' is in the harbour, and has taken all the English residents on board, and is doing all he can to arrange matters. The leader of the Republican party sent a message to say he would order the batteries to fire upon the ship and sink her, but Lord Hardwicke despised the threat and remained. He landed at the peril of his life, a large mob being on the shore, apparently ready to attack him and his boat's crew. But on getting out of his boat he went straight up to them, and seeing a woman advance, evidently in a great fury, to attack him, he caught and embraced her before all the mob, who cheered him violently.

April 25th.—The Navigation Bill passed the Commons by a majority of 61.

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May 2nd.—News has arrived from India of the termination of the war, the Sikhs, to the number of sixteen thousand men, having laid down their arms without fighting to General Gilbert. Forty-one pieces of cannon have been given up, making in all one hundred and sixty taken in this campaign. The state of Europe continues unsatisfactory so far as Austria and Denmark are concerned. The Russians have entered Transylvania, and the Hungarians will probably be defeated. The King of Prussia has refused the title of Emperor of Germany. There was a meeting of Peers yesterday at Lord Stanley's, and I remained with him afterwards to arrange the course of speakers on the Navigation Bill. Lord Stanley wished Lord Brougham to speak just before Lord Grey, intending to speak last himself. He said, 'Brougham must poke him up, and I will knock him down.'

May 8th.—The debate took place on the Navigation Bill in the House of Lords. It was perfectly crammed in every corner, many of the Peers finding it difficult to get seats.

May 9th.—The Ministers have only a majority of ten, and we had one of fourteen present, so they won it by proxies. They looked very downcast and dispirited when the numbers were announced, as it is the first time such an important question has been decided by proxies. Not one of Lord Stanley's party was absent, and he had sent them a message of thanks for their support.

May 10th.—The French expedition left Civita Vecchia on the 28th, and reached Rome on the 30th ult., expecting to be received with open arms; but instead of that it seems they

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got a good beating, after several unsuccessful attempts to take the barricades, which were defended by Poles; the Romans contenting themselves with looking on and applauding. The French were obliged to retreat, and are in waiting for reinforcements.

May 15*th.*—An insurrection has broken out in Canada. It appears that the sanction of the Governor-General was given at Montreal on the 25th to the Rebellion Losses Indemnity Bill. Directly it became known the rage of the populace knew no bounds, immense mobs collected, drove the members out of the House of Parliament, and set fire to the building, which with the library, containing a large collection of valuable books, was destroyed. Lord Elgin was pelted with eggs, and his immediate recall insisted upon.

May 18*th.*—Nothing could be worse than the foreign news. Germany is in the most dreadful state; the Austrians are being beaten on all sides by Bem and Dembinski; there has been an insurrection at Dresden, which was not put down until after three days' hard fighting and great loss of life; the Grand Duke of Baden has been driven from his dominions; and the Red Republicans are triumphant at Rome. General Oudinot, who commands the French army there, has made no further attempt on the city since his defeat. It is quite true that the Romans took five hundred prisoners from the French.

June 5*th.*—Lady Blessington died yesterday in Paris, of apoplexy. The French army remains stationary before Rome, though it amounts to twenty-five thousand men. The malarial fever has begun to attack them. M. de Lesseps has left Rome, fearing assassination.

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June 14*th.*—News has arrived that the French made an attack upon Rome on June 3, took possession of the Villa Pamphili Doria, but have not entered the town. Oudinot was attacking the Porta del Popolo with his artillery.

June 18*th.*—The French army has not gained an inch of ground. General Oudinot is anxious to spare the town, which must be destroyed if he uses his heavy artillery against it, but he will probably find himself compelled to do so in the end, as the honour of France is now involved. Macdonald, the sculptor, has arrived in England. He used to be a violent Radical, but the scenes he has witnessed have effected a great change in his opinions. He says a grape-shot entered a window of the Vatican and lodged in the wall within two or three feet of the Apollo Belvidere. Some of the palaces have also been struck, but without doing much mischief.

June 29*th.*—The French have taken possession of a portion of the outer walls of Rome, but have not yet entered the city. They have simply effected a lodgment in the breach. The Austrians took Ancona on June 18, but Venice has not yet surrendered.

July 4*th.*—The French are probably by this time in possession of Rome, which offered to capitulate on the 30th, after two days' hard fighting. It is said that Mazzini and his colleagues have been forced to this by the people, who when the moment approached that they must risk their lives shrank from the danger. The Princess Belgiojoso tried to encourage them to resistance, but in vain. On the receipt of this intelligence in Paris, General Bedeau, who had been sent to supersede General Oudinot, was recalled.

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July 6th.—Went to Lady Wilde's. There was a French play acted by the famous Doche. It was so improper that many of the ladies slipped away.

July 7th.—Lord Ward gave us his box to see Madame Sontag's *début* in *Linda di Chamouni*. It was most successful; her voice is still lovely and her face and execution perfect. Lablache was present in a stage-box, and his expression of rapture was indescribable. I never saw a face convey such admiration and delight. He certainly is the best judge of singing in the present day.

July 9th.—Met Mario. I asked his opinion about *Le Prophète*, and he said it was not so fine as the *Huguenots*, but he could not yet quite judge, as they did not know their parts; but that there was not a single piece in it to be compared to the grand duet in the fourth act of the *Huguenots*, which he thought the finest that had ever been written. We went in the evening to a ball at Cambridge House, where of course we found the *élite* of society. I see that the Opera has been very nearly closed: the orchestra, not having been paid, refused to play, but Mario generously paid them out of his own pocket.

July 12th.—The French entered Rome on July 3, and on the same day Garibaldi left the city with his corps unmolested. It is supposed he intends to throw himself into Calabria and excite an insurrection there.

July 17th.—The Government were beaten yesterday on the Irish Poor Law Bill in two divisions.

August 1st.—We left on our annual journey to Achnacarry, *viâ* Carlisle, Greenock, and Corpach.

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August 26th.—The war in Hungary is ended. Görgey, to whom Kossuth made over the dictatorship, made his submission to the Russians on the 13th inst. The latter were under Paskiewitch. Görgey's conduct must until further news excite suspicion of treachery; but he may have acted wisely for his country, as the forces against him were overwhelming, and if, as is said, there were differences amongst his own people, no other course was open to him.

September 1st.—We went to Ardverikie, a beautiful place on Loch Laggan hired by the Abercorns.

September 4th.—We went with Lady Abercorn, Lady Granville, and Lady Jocelyn to Cluny Castle, nearly fifteen miles off, starting, with a fat coachman to drive us, about four in the afternoon. Of course the horse knocked up before we arrived at our destination, and we were obliged to get out and walk up the hill from the lodge to the house. The woman in charge took us for ladies' maids and valets, and when she found out who we were, as she insisted upon knowing our names, I thought she would have fainted. After seeing the castle we procured a horse with some difficulty to take us home, but did not arrive till near midnight. I believe Macpherson's ground at Cluny is supposed to be the best for grouse in Scotland.

September 6th.—Returned to Achnacarry. At Mulcomer Bridge we very nearly backed over the precipice, as the horse jibbed.

September 10th.—Venice is surrounded, and the Austrians entered it on the 28th ult.

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September 22*nd.*—I had been out deer-stalking, and as I was returning home alone, and by bright moonlight, I saw a hind on the hill a little above the road and shot her, but just as I was stooping over her with a knife, she sprang up and struck at me with one of her fore feet, hitting me in the forehead just between the eyes. The blow was so violent that it knocked me down and stunned me for a short time, and on recovering my senses I found I was quite blind, but this was only from the blood. Her hoof had cut a deep gash in my forehead and along my nose. The animal was lying quite dead by my side. I walked to the house, which was not far off, and the maid who opened the door was so frightened at my appearance that she fainted forthwith. This laid me up for a week, but with no further consequences.

October 24th.—We left Achnacarry. Our party had been composed of the Jocelyns, Calcrafts, Charteris, Herberts, Lord Cardigan, &c.

November 8*th.*—We went to Chillingham Castle, where Mr. Burrell, a clergyman, told us the story of a little girl at his school who was asked what the outward visible sign in baptism was, to which she replied, 'The baby.' Also Lady Goderich's little daughter, who, seeing her mother was very uncomfortable before the birth of her children, said she was 'determined to have all her children before she married, and enjoy herself afterwards.'

November 14*th.*—The Mannings have been executed for the murder of O'Connor. She kept up her character to the last, and showed the most extraordinary nerve ever possessed by a woman. He confessed having assisted, though he affirmed that she fired the shot, and had originated and

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planned the whole crime. She, on the other hand, persisted in affirming her innocence, and died with perfect composure, thinking apparently of nothing but of exhibiting her beautiful figure to the best advantage. Her dress was very handsome, being of black satin, with a lace *canezou*, and a black veil over her head. The attendants wished her to put on a cloak, but the proposal annoyed her so much that they did not press it. She had been lady's maid to the Duchess of Sutherland. After having murdered O'Connor, they buried him under the hearthstone, and ate their supper upon the spot for several days after.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Grosvenor Gate: November 21, 1849

My dear Lord,—It is most vexatious that we should have missed each other, as there was no one with whom I wished more to confer than yourself, having every confidence in your intelligence and firmness, and should long ago have written to you on many affairs had I not found it impossible to write on subjects so complicated.

I probably leave town to-morrow, and have no prospect of being here again on December 2, as on the 5th I have a Bucks meeting, which in the present awkward condition of affairs I must attend.

The state of our Press is deplorable. I approve of your suggestion respecting the 'Post,' but it would be as well, I think, previously to communicate with Knox, with whom I only some months ago had a casual conversation on the subject in the hall of the Carlton.

With respect to other matters, the scandal of our provincial movement is great and flagrant, but I hope the evil is more superficial than it seems, and that, with tact and temper, the ship may be righted. I have spared no effort, nor has Beresford, but we have had to deal with a wrong-headed man.[1]

Ever yours sincerely,

B. Disraeli.

[1] Alluding to the resignation of Lord G. Bentinck as leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons.

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December 11*th*.—We went to Savernake, where there was a large party.

December 13*th*.—A sad accident happened this afternoon to one of Lord Bruce's keepers, who blew off two fingers of his right hand in loading Lord Jocelyn's gun. Fortunately, the day's sport being nearly over, we were not more than a hundred yards from the house, and by a most lucky chance the family doctor was there, having come to see one of the servants, and had his surgical instruments, so that the poor man had immediate assistance, and his fingers were amputated in a few minutes. All the gentlemen stood round to witness the operation and encourage the man, who showed great pluck. A curious incident occurred, proving how uncertain the action of such sights is upon our nerves. Every one of us bore the sight pretty calmly but Lord Raglan, who had seen a hundred battles, and who nearly fainted away, and was obliged to retire. Yet in action he was known to be remarkable for his unmoved calmness and *sang froid*.[1]

1850

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Hughenden Manor: Jan. 1, 1850.

My dear Lord,—My absence at Quarter Sessions prevented my receiving your very kind letter until to-day. I am very sorry indeed that it is not in my power to have the pleasure of becoming your guest, as you propose, but I have engagements at home from which I cannot extricate myself.

[1] Marshal St.-Arnaud said: 'C'est toujours le même calme qui ne le quitte jamais.'

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Sir Robert's letter is pompous and trite. There is really nothing proposed in it which might not have been done with equal propriety if the Corn Laws had not been repealed; but he has succeeded in conveying an impression that his estate is in bad condition, and that he is conscious he has led his friends into a hopeless scrape.

I think Sidney Herbert is in a pretty scrape; 35,000 needlewomen to be deported at 15*l.* a-piece (his own estimate) would take upwards of 600,000*l.* He should have subscribed at least one year's income as an example, and if he succeeds in his object, which is impossible, he will do no good.

I am sure you will make a capital speech at Salisbury, but I wish the movement was not merely agricultural. There are the other great interests (in buckram) that your friend G. F. Young talked so much of. Why does not Limehouse at least stir?

Ever yours faithfully,

D.

P.S.—Let nothing prevent you looking at the last article in 'Blackwood' on high farming in Scotland.

Lord Stanley to Lord M.

Knowsley: Jan. 2, 1850.

My dear Malmesbury,—I omitted some time ago to thank you for your list of Peers. I have noted down a few to whom I think for various reasons it would be unnecessary for me to write, and we never, I believe, send circulars to the Bishops. I have also put down three names which appear to me to be omissions from your list. Is Dunsany yet elected? If he is, he should be written to. Take care to have it as generally known as possible that Redesdale is to be our candidate[1] whenever old Shaftesbury retires, which I think he will do this session, though probably not at the very commencement; still we ought to be prepared for anything that may happen.

Love to my lady. I am very glad to hear you are all pleased with what you see and hear of Ossulston's choice.

Yours very sincerely,

STANLEY.

[1] As Chairman of Committees.

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January 4th.—Heron Court. I went to-day to a Protectionist meeting at Salisbury, where I had to propose a resolution and make a speech.

Mr. Sidney Herbert to Lord M.

Wilton: Jan. 6, 1850.

My dear Fitzharris,—I have been long enough in public life to know how often public duty impels a course which is very painful to private friendship, and I confess I am far more grieved on public than on private grounds at the line taken during the last months by yourself and your friends. Farmers and landlords were beginning to settle down and adjust themselves to the new state of things when that unfortunate delusion that Protection can be restored has come to disturb and unsettle everything. In the face of the thriving and daily improving state of all classes, except the one which has to go through the process, never very pleasant, of giving up a pecuniary advantage which they enjoyed at the expense of the rest, it is hopeless to attempt the re-imposition of the Corn Laws. If it were possible by any combination of circumstances to do so, even for a time, I believe such success would be fatal to the order to which you and I, in our different degrees, belong.

However, there is little use in our discussing the point. I know enough of you and those with whom you are acting to do you the justice to believe (what others will not) that you are acting upon a strong conviction, that the course you advocate would benefit all classes of the community as well as your own, and that you would not move a finger for it if you did not think so.

I wish I could foresee with any confidence the time when this fiscal question shall be no bar to our co-operation on social and political matters which are far more important to the vitality of this country.

Believe me, my dear Fitzharris,
Most affectionately yours,
SIDNEY HERBERT.

January 14th to February 19th.—I was laid up and in considerable danger from an attack of rheumatic fever. Lord Cantelupe and Mr. Pelham were seized at the same

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time with the same complaint, and both died. The London doctors had treated them with acids, principally lemon-juice, whilst my country practitioner had given me calomel and strong alkalis—two diametrically opposite systems of treatment.

February 22nd.—The division upon Disraeli's motion upon taxation took place this morning, and the Government had only a majority of 21. The Ministers looked rather annoyed, for though it was not for a return to Protection, it was a move in that direction, and is considered so by all parties. Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham both spoke and voted against us. When the former got up and expressed great sympathy for the sufferings of the agriculturists, Colonel Sibthorp lifted up both his hands in a mock-tragic manner, exclaiming, 'Oh dear! oh dear!' which set the whole House into a roar of laughter. Peel, instead of paying no attention to the interruption, turned to Colonel Sibthorp and gave him some explanation, adding, he hoped he believed him, to which Sibthorp replied, 'I can't say I do.' A good many Peelites voted for us. There was a great row at a Protectionist meeting at Dorchester. The mob attacked the farmers, pelting them with stones; they bore it for some time, and then made a charge upon the mob with their hunting-whips and dispersed them.

March 3rd.—The Government have introduced a bill for lowering the franchise in Ireland, which is of course only a prelude to a similar measure in England.

April 16th.—In Paris. On arriving I wrote to the President, who asked me to breakfast the next morning at the

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Elysée. He was more than cordial, and began by reminding me that he had always told me in his darkest days he would some day govern France. 'I told you so,' said he, 'when you came to visit me in my prison at Ham, and you and every one thought I was mad. But although I am here I know nobody; the friends I have I don't know, and they don't know me, even by sight. Although a Frenchman, not fifty of them had ever seen me when I came over from England. I have tried to consolidate all political parties, but I can conciliate none; there is now a conspiracy to seize me and send me to Vincennes, and General Changarnier and Thiers are at its head. The Chamber is unmanageable. I stand perfectly alone, but the army and the people are with me, and I don't despair. Yet every day may see me a prisoner. Your Ambassador, Lord Normanby, is intriguing against me, although his chief, Lord Palmerston, and some of your Cabinet Ministers, are in my favour. I believe Lord Normanby carries on a private correspondence with Prince Albert to my detriment.' After this he invited me to drive with him at St. Cloud and see the *haras*, which I did. Among the horses was a splendid dark chestnut, which the stud groom, an Englishman, led out to show me. The President, after admiring him much, ordered the man to send him to his stables at Paris. 'I can't do that, Sir,' he replied, 'the horse belongs to the Republic.' As we were sitting in the phaeton Louis Napoleon jogged my arm and observed, 'You see my position; it is time to put an end to it.' Driving home, he made no secret of his intention of being beforehand with his enemies, and there was no mistaking the means he would take to be so.

April 21st.—I gave a dinner to Lord Normanby and a

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few friends at Philippe's café. I found his lordship knew of my breakfast with the President, and could not conceal his curiosity and displeasure, which was foolish and unwarrantable, as I had never taken part in foreign politics, nor even held any office. He showed his personal antipathy to the Prince President in a very undiplomatic way, foretelling his impending fall. He said his first speech was a failure, and was made with a strong German accent, but long as I have known him I never perceived he had one. It is evident Lord Normanby and his chief, Lord Palmerston, are at variance in their policy, and the former is with Lord Aberdeen, whose *bête noire* is Louis Napoleon. After this the President invited me to dinner, and after it was over took me into an inner room, where we had a long conversation. The rest of the company, which consisted of Lord Normanby, Lord Ailesbury, Lord Clanricarde, and Lord Brougham, came to take leave of the President, as it was getting late. I also got up to go, but he stopped me, asking me to remain to finish our conversation. It was chiefly relating to the difficulties he was in. This annoyed Lord Normanby exceedingly, and was considered important enough for some one to write home that Lord Normanby was much chagrined at not knowing what the subject of our conversation had been. He must have guessed that it related to his treacherous hostility. Left Paris.

April 26th.—Dined with the Eglintons, where I met General Cabrera, to whom I was introduced. He is very much what I expected, a little dark man, with a very intelligent countenance, and a lively, energetic manner. He is not handsome, but his eyes are so bright and expressive, and his whole appearance so indicative of energy, cleverness, and

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courage, it is impossible to think him ugly. He speaks horrid French, and I had great difficulty in understanding him. We sent him a ticket for our box at the Opera next day, and he came to it. I was much amused at hearing Lady Suffield, who did not know him, but found out he was a Spaniard, ask him whether there was any truth in the report that Cabrera was to marry Miss Richards, the great heiress. He laughed and answered, 'Yo soy Cabrera,' but did not deny the fact, which I believe to be correct. Another lady asked Cabrera, not knowing him, whether the report of his marriage with Miss Richards was true, and after giving him a long dissertation on the lady's fortune, she added she thought it a great pity that Miss Richards should marry a man like Cabrera, who had not a farthing in his pocket and nothing but bullets in his head. Cabrera laughed and said, 'I whom you are speaking to am that unfortunate individual.' Then he revenged himself by asking her if she was not a relation of Parodi, who was singing at the time.

April 17th.—The French Ambassador has been recalled in consequence of Lord Palmerston's conduct on the Greek question. It had been agreed upon in London in the event of the conditions approved by M. Gros being rejected by Mr. Wyse, our Minister at Athens, that the blockade should not be resumed without special orders from England. Lord Palmerston neglected to send instructions to that effect, and Mr. Wyse having received no orders, and not agreeing to M. Gros' proposals, acted upon his former instructions and resumed the blockade. Upon which the King consented to the terms proposed by us. This has very much offended the French, who talk of going to war with us.

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June 7th.—Went to Lady Grey's party. Mr. Bernal Osborne was there and gave a very amusing account of the Nepaulese Ambassador, whom he knew in India, having come to Calcutta to explain his reasons for having shot the Prime Minister of the King of Nepaul. Mr. Bernal Osborne says he had committed a great number of murders, though he looks very young and gentle.

Lord Stanley to Lord M.

St. James's Square: June 16, 1850.

Dear Malmesbury,—I have just seen Aberdeen, and we have gone over your lists [*re* Redesdale's election] together. He thinks you have taken by no means a sanguine view, as far as the names we looked over are concerned. Of the ten Peelites whom you give to the Government, he expects Ellesmere and Wharncliffe to vote with us, De Grey to stay away, Ashburton, Bristol, and Cowley to be with them, and Athole, Churchill, Denbigh, and the Bishop of Winchester he knows nothing about. Of the twelve doubtful Peelites, he expects we shall have Bathurst, Clare, and Howe; Seaton and Shaftesbury are against us; Gough, Hardinge, Wellington, and Ripon will stay away; he knows nothing of Hertford, Northumberland, and Winchester. You may add to the Whigs who will not vote, Lord Lovat. He thinks Manners will follow him (Aberdeen). He asked me, and I could not tell him how you had reckoned Cawdor.

Yours ever,

STANLEY.

June 17th.—Lord Stanley made a great speech on the affairs of Greece in the House of Lords. He moved a resolution condemning Lord Palmerston, which was carried by a majority of 37 in a very full House. The Peeresses' Gallery was quite full, several ladies sitting on the floor, and many were obliged to return home for want of room. The evening began by an attack on the Prussian Minister, Count Bunsen, who was seated in the Ladies' Gallery, and not in the part

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appointed for Ambassadors. Lord Brougham had previously gone into the gallery with Lady Melbourne and Lady Newport, and told Bunsen he had no right to be there. Bunsen refused to give up his place, upon which Lord Brougham descended to the House and called attention to 'a stranger being in the Peeresses' Gallery,' saying, 'If he does not come down I shall move your lordships to enforce the order of the House. It is the more intolerable as he has a place assigned to him in another part, and he is now keeping the room of *two*[1] peeresses.' This was received with shouts of laughter and cheers; but Bunsen refused to move till Lord Brougham sent Sir Augustus Clifford, Usher of the Black Rod, to him, when he got into a fury and left the House, taking his wife and daughter with him. Lord Stanley then got up and made a magnificent and extremely amusing speech, which lasted from five till nearly eight. I went afterwards to Lady Waldegrave's, and there saw Madame Van de Weyer, who had already heard of Lord Brougham's attack on Bunsen, and was perfectly wild at the insult offered to a Minister. I told her I did not approve of the way Lord Brougham had behaved, but that Bunsen had no right to sit in the Peeresses' Gallery. She would not agree to this, but if she tried herself she would find I am right.

June 20th.—Went to the Drawing Room, which was more crowded than anything I had ever seen, and a disgraceful scene—the ladies screaming and fainting, their gowns torn into shreds by the spurs, and their arms scratched by the epaulettes, of the men.

June 27th.—The Queen was attacked this evening as she

[1] Bunsen was a very stout man.

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was coming out of Cambridge House by a man, who struck her on the head with a cane. Her Majesty showed her usual courage, and went in the evening to the Opera. When she arrived, in the middle of the skating scene in the *Prophète*, the audience rose and cheered her for full five minutes, after which 'God Save the Queen' was sung by the Italian artists.

June 29th.—I heard this afternoon that Sir Robert Peel had been thrown from his horse on Constitution Hill, and was very much hurt.

June 30th.—Several people called on their way from Sir Robert Peel's. The accounts of him are bad.

July 1st.—Sir Robert Peel is worse to-day. He suffers great pain, and the doctors say he is in a very precarious state.

July 2nd.—The doctors give hardly any hope of Sir Robert Peel's recovery. He suffers dreadful pain, but is conscious. Lady Peel is so distracted that the doctors will not allow her to go into his room. She came in once, but when Sir Robert saw the state she was in he went into convulsions, and since then she has not been permitted to go near him.

July 3rd.—Sir Robert Peel died this morning. His wife saw him before his death, having been allowed to go to his bedside as soon as the case was quite hopeless. He took the Sacrament, which was administered to him by the Bishop of Gibraltar, all his family being present. The post-mortem

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examination in the case of Sir Robert Peel proved that the fifth rib on the left side had been fractured and pressed upon the lungs, which must have produced intolerable agony. The accounts of the accident differ very much. Some say he was seen reeling in his saddle for a moment before he fell, and that it was through dropping the reins that the horse swerved. The general opinion is that his horse, which was a young one, started at being passed by Miss Ellice's groom, who was riding a very spirited animal. The accident was seen by several people, but all give different accounts; the majority think he was simply thrown by the horse starting; and that is the most probable story. We went to the French play with the Ossulstons to hear Rachel in *Bajazet*. She acts very finely, but her voice has grown like that of a man, and she has lost all pretensions to good looks. Her countenance has become so diabolical and unfeminine that it is quite disagreeable to look at her.

July 9th.—The Duke of Cambridge died last night. The Duchess of Gloucester arrived a short time before he expired, and a messenger was sent to Prince Albert to come immediately to the Duchess of Cambridge. It is a singular accident and coincidence that the Duke, Sir Robert Peel, and Lord Cantelupe were all invited and engaged to dine yesterday with the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk. But considering the length of time that invitations are sent before the day appointed for dinners, there must be many cases of the kind.

August 12th.—Left London for Achnacarry, *viâ* Carlisle and Corpach. After remaining there till October 27, we took a steamer for Glasgow, whence to Chillingham Castle.

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November 15*th.*—Heron Court. Lord Clanwilliam and Lord Stanley arrived. The two being the quickest men I know, amused us much by chaffing one another, and I think on the whole Lord Clanwilliam had the best of it. They both of them enjoyed the wild-fowl shooting very much, and were as eager as two boys.

Lord Eglinton to Lord M.

Eglinton Castle: November 24, 1850.

My dear M.,—

. . . . . .

We had a reviving meeting of Protectionists here this week, and, as we were all of one way of thinking, the arguments used were most convincing. There is the best possible feeling among all the gentlemen of our party, and no desire to rush to extremities, or drive us to a certain defeat; but in many parts of Scotland, as in England, the farmers think us too lukewarm, and accuse the landlords of deserting them. I think we must fight about something next session, and we shall have plenty of scope for it if we oppose the income tax, and stand out for equalisation of local taxes. As to the Papal Aggression, the country seems to be very like my late Protectionist party.

Very sincerely yours,

EGLINTON AND WINTON.

November 26*th.*—I hear Mrs. Norton and Sir Edwin Landseer have quarrelled. They have been great friends for the last two years, and she encouraged his admiration to get his drawings and instructions in painting. He is very angry and spiteful about her.

December 1*st.*—Sir William Stanley, whom I saw at Paris, is now hopelessly deranged. It is supposed it was occasioned by a fall he had in the riding school at Paris.

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Lord Stanley to Lord M.

Lathom House: December 2, 1850.

Dear Malmesbury,— . . . Disraeli writes me word that he has a great financial scheme which he is concocting with Herries, and which he wishes to talk over with me. I shall probably go up to town for a day or two early next month to discuss it with him; but until I have done so I hardly know what line it would be best to hold, and am not fond of opening our game too soon through the medium of the papers, even if we were quite resolved upon it. My own impression is that we must resist the income tax, and probably fight for a relaxation of the monetary laws and an amendment of the poor law. I am myself very much inclined in favour of your crotchet, if you can work it out.[1] On the Popery question I quite agree with you that we should rather follow the stream, which is running quite strong enough, than attempt to take a lead of our own. I think the Government are in a most awkward dilemma, from which they will find it very difficult to escape; and the more rope you give them the more chance there is of their hanging themselves at one end or the other. . . .

We had a good day while Clanwilliam was with us in Bickerstaffe Wood—five guns, 560 head; and another after he left us, in the Trap—four guns, 471. My scores were 126 and 153. We expect a great rabbit day on Friday, for which Jocelyn will come in, but it is the worst year for woodcocks that I ever remember.

Ever yours sincerely,

STANLEY.

1851

January 1st.—Lady Tankerville informed me that Lady Olivia Ossulston was confined of a son, an event long wished for in our family.

January 12th. —The Prince President has dismissed

[1] To make personal property pay its share of the Poor Rate like the Income Tax as a principle.

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Changarnier from the command of the army in Paris, and all the Ministers have resigned. All the principal men have been summoned to the Elysée, and all join in disapproving of the step, but the President remains firm. It is supposed it will end in some compromise, but up to this moment no fresh Government has been formed. The President declares he has a right to dismiss any officer from his command, and will preserve his privileges inviolate. Regarding his dotation, the President says the Assembly can do as they please, as he can shut himself up in one room in the Elysée and turn off his servants, but he will not submit to be deprived of the privileges of his office. I admire his firmness, and trust he will not allow himself to be persuaded to give in, for if he does he will lose greatly in the public estimation. At present the country is with him, and it is evident the hostility of the Chamber is solely occasioned by the ambition of the different *parties* in it, each of whom expected him to play into their hands, and finding him honest and determined to do what he thinks right towards his country, have now coalesced to overthrow him. The Moderates had better take care what they do or they will drive him into the arms of the ultra-Republican party. As to Changarnier,[1] he is decidedly hostile to the President and the Republican party, and aims at being Dictator. He is a fine old soldier, and distinguished himself greatly in Africa, but his appearance is against him. He dresses like an old dandy, with a wig and very tight stays, and indulges in a great affectation of youth and physical activity which he does not possess.

January 17th.—I hear that Mr. Roebuck wrote a letter

[1] Changarnier continued to oppose the Emperor during his prosperity, but after his defeats in 1870 he joined his army, offering him the aid of his sword, and he was taken prisoner at the capitulation of Metz.

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to Lord Brougham on the subject of the paragraph respecting Lady Hastings, which some injudicious friends of hers had put in the newspapers, and Lord Brougham's answer was very characteristic. He told Lady Hastings she had better touch thirty Italians than one newspaper.

January 21*st.*—The new French Government have been defeated on a vote of confidence by a majority of 415 votes to 286. They immediately tendered their resignations, which the President refused to accept. M. Thiers sent to him to say that the vote was not directed against his Government, but against his Ministers, and that if he composed a new Cabinet, even taken from among the members of the minority, Thiers would support him, and, subject to this, his dotation would be voted without the least difficulty. The President thanked them, but, seeing no reason to change his Ministers, could not avail himself of their suggestions and offers.

January 22*nd.*—The President has accepted the resignation of his Ministers, and it is said a new Cabinet will be constructed out of the minority. Many members threaten to send Louis Napoleon to Vincennes.

February 2*nd.*—Dined with Lord Stanley, Lord Redesdale, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Herries, and sat talking politics till one in the morning.

February 3*rd.*—Went to the christening of my little nephew,[1] Charley Bennet, for whom I was one of the godfathers.

[1] He died in India in 1880.

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February 4th.—Parliament opened, and Lord Effingham moved the Address in the House of Lords. Lord Stanley spoke well, as usual, and raised a great laugh by saying, in allusion to the restoration of tranquillity in Europe, 'that the increased tranquillity in Europe was to be attributed to the increased inactivity of the Foreign Secretary.' Lord Lansdowne answered him, and after him Lord Roden got up, which was the signal for a general clearance of the galleries by the ladies. Lord Stanley proposed Lord Redesdale for the office of Chairman of Committees, in the room of Lord Shaftesbury, deceased, and he was elected unanimously, as there was no other Peer who came within any distance of him for that office. One of the ladies praised Lord Stanley for having made an eloquent, and at the same time a very temperate, speech. He started, and exclaimed, 'Good God! temperate! I hope I didn't make a milk-and-water one.' Considerable fears were entertained about the solidity of the Crystal Palace, and some M.P. proposed to march a regiment of soldiers through the galleries to test it, a singular idea under the circumstances. Lord Willoughby has taken a house in London during three months of the Exhibition for his tenants, without telling Lady Willoughby, who learned it first from the newspapers, and consoled herself for the outlay by saying, 'Well, it will neither improve their taste nor their morals.' Grisi was at Brighton, where she has lately been staying, walking on the cliff and escorted by two black fiddlers and two nurses, one carrying the last baby and the other the one before. When she arrived first she was so weak that the fiddlers had to support her, one on each side; but now she stumps away on her heels and looks as well as ever. Mario is at St. Petersburg. There never was such an adoration as she has for him.

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February 9th.—The Government is supposed to be in a mess about their bill against Popery, and also anxious about the continuance of the low prices, which affect their pockets as well as ours. They don't, however, dare to do anything for the relief of agriculture, though they would probably be glad that we should do so, and many people think they would willingly go out for a time and leave us the odium and trouble of arranging these two matters.

Lord Stanley to Lord M.

St. James's Square: Feb. 15, 1851.

My dear Malmesbury,—You might have been very sure that I would not have given any notice on your behalf without your authority; and you rightly conjecture that the notice I actually did give was for the presentation of Hardwicke's petition. It was merely an error of the newspapers. I have told Nelson to have a London Whip, and to send word to Exeter, Richmond, Winchilsea, &c., that such a debate is coming on, but without *urging* their attendance. I think we had better not interfere by any specific resolution with the battle now raging in the Commons. Next week they will have the Income Tax, on which, I think, we may contrive to take a division (on Friday), and perhaps beat them, without pledging ourselves to its absolute and immediate repeal, against which there might be valid objections raised from the state of the Revenue. Disraeli's speech—or indeed speeches—were most masterly. Graham was very bitter, but very *telling*. It is clear we have nothing to hope for from the leading Peelites but opposition. Our division was very good, but not as good as it looked, for we had several with us on whose general support we certainly could not count.

Ever yours sincerely,

STANLEY.

February 16th.—The House of Lords has done nothing lately; in the Commons the adjourned debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was resumed on Monday. On Tuesday Disraeli moved 'That the severe distress existing in the

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United Kingdom among that important class of her Majesty's subjects, the owners and occupiers of land, and which is justly lamented in her Majesty's Speech from the Throne, renders it the duty of the Government to introduce without delay such measures as may be most effectual for the relief thereof.' On Wednesday the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was again discussed and the debate adjourned. On Thursday the debate on Disraeli's motion was resumed, and the House divided upon it, when the numbers were—267 for the motion, and 281 against, giving the Ministry only a majority of fourteen. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was divided upon, when 395 voted for, and 63 against, its introduction.

February 17th.—Went to London for the Agricultural debate to-morrow, and spoke on the subject. Lord Stanley was much pleased and amused. Returned to Heron Court on the 20th. At Christchurch Petty Sessions a boy was brought up to give evidence in a poaching case. As there were great doubts whether he understood the nature of an oath, my brother undertook to cross-examine him. He inquired, 'Are you aware of the meaning of an oath?' The boy scratched his head with a puzzled look and then said, 'Ees.' 'And you know in whose presence you stand?' continued my brother. The boy looked up and caught sight of Colonel Cameron, who was seated wrapped up in a cloak, with his hair standing on end, and looked quite the most awful person in the room. After a moment's consideration the boy again answered 'Ees.' 'You are then aware of the solemnity of the act you are going to perform, and the danger of swearing falsely?' 'Ees,' he answered. The oath was then administered, and the boy began to tell the most awful lies, which was pointed out to Mr. Berkeley, with the

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remark that he was committing perjury. 'No,' replied Mr. Berkeley, 'fortunately he did not do so, for he swore by Colonel Cameron.'

February 21*st.*—Mr. Berkeley amused us very much this morning by telling us that Lady Stuart de Rothesay, when at Highcliffe, passed her time in throwing stones and handfuls of gravel over the cliff to try and stop it up and preserve it from the encroachments of the sea. When he was walking about there one day he saw the gardeners very busy collecting the sweepings of the walks, consisting of gravel and dead leaves. He asked them what they were going to do with them, and they answered that they were going to throw them over the cliff by Lady Stuart's orders for the abovementioned purpose. Highcliffe is a most beautiful house, built by the late Lord Stuart de Rothesay, a part of it consisting of an old abbey brought from Caen; but it stands so near the edge of the cliff, which is falling daily, that if the destruction is not stopped it cannot last above twenty years.[1]

February 22*nd.*—Lord John Russell moved yesterday that the Committee of Ways and Means should be postponed until next Monday, when he would state his reasons for the request, and also the course he intended to take. There was a Cabinet Council yesterday morning, after which Lord John went to the Queen. It is not yet known what passed, but the postponement of the Budget is a tolerably clear indication.

February 23*rd.*—Heard from Lady Tankerville, who said

[1] Lady Waterford has saved it by some extensive and expensive works on the cliff.

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the Government was out. There were many unhappy faces and some happy ones at Lady Granville's party. My brother writes that the Queen has sent for Lord Aberdeen. Lord and Lady Stanley dined at the Palace on Friday, having been asked some days before. It must have been rather awkward both for them and the Queen.

February 24th.—Lord John Russell and Lord Lansdowne had interviews on Saturday morning with the Queen. Immediately after their departure she sent for Lord Stanley, who arrived at the Palace at one o'clock and remained in close conference with her for an hour. When he reached his house in St. James's Square he found a second letter awaiting him from the Queen, who had written to him again after he left the Palace. At five o'clock Prince Albert wrote to Lord Aberdeen, who, being absent from town, only went to the Palace at nine o'clock and remained till twelve in consultation with the Queen. At six o'clock Lord John Russell had a second interview with the Queen, and remained more than two hours. Sir James Graham visited Lord Aberdeen yesterday, and Graham and Aberdeen visited Lord John Russell in the morning, having an interview at a later period of the day with Mr. Disraeli and Lord Stanley.

Lord Canning to Lord M.

Grosvenor Square: Feb. 24, 1851.

My dear M.,—I did not know until Lord Tankerville told it me last night that you were out of civilised society, or I would have written on Saturday.

To begin at the beginning, Lord John's announcement on Friday was at first misinterpreted by most of those who were not in the secret. We thought that, as usual, we were to be treated to many budgets, and that the respite till Monday was asked for the purpose of preparing the second edition. But the truth was known in

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the course of the evening; and it is a fact that Lord John decided on resignation in the morning before he summoned the Cabinet; from which, when it did meet, Lords Lansdowne and Carlisle were absent—the one with gout at Bowood, the other in the City on business; and before either of them knew they were out, Lord John had been to the Queen. Minto, too, who is sick in bed, was kept in the dark.

There was some division amongst them as to the necessity, or even propriety, of going out. Carlisle does not disguise from his friends that he saw no need of doing so; and others share his opinion. Lord Lansdowne, I believe, is glad to be quit of office on any terms.

As to the cause, we shall hear Lord John's motives this evening. I suppose the minority on Locke King's motion will be the ostensible reason; but of course the bad reception of the Budget was a more cogent one. I have reason to think, however, that what nettled Lord John most was the cold reception given to his promise of dealing with the Franchise next session, which did not prevent some even of his own people from voting against him.

On Saturday afternoon Stanley was sent for. What passed you will know, sooner or later, better than I can tell you; but I believe his refusal to form a Government was not absolute—*i.e.* that he desired to reserve the reconsideration of the matter if any other party should fail.

I hear that Disraeli's language is that 'unconstitutional conditions' were proposed. If he really says so, it probably refers to some limitation as to dissolving; but I know nothing authentic.

In the afternoon Lord John was with the Queen again; and in the even she saw him, Lord Aberdeen, and Graham together for more than two hours. All yesterday negotiations were going on; but, so far as I know, without any result up to the present moment.

Every kind of speculation is afloat—a reconstruction of the Government, with only an infusion of new Whig blood; a coalition between the Peelites and the Government; a junction of Graham simply with the Government; or a Government under Stanley. I should be sorry to have to bet upon the issue; but what I wish is, that Stanley should form a Government, receiving from the present Ministers and from us the promise of support in getting his money, and against Radical attacks, upon the condition that he should not dissolve Parliament until after the harvest, and

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that meanwhile he should not attempt to disturb Free Trade; he being at liberty to take any course he pleased as soon as this Session is over, and we being then released from the promise of supporting him any longer. I see nothing impracticable in this. I have little hope of a wholesome state of politics or parties until you have been in power, and have tried your own cause after your own fashion; and under some such limitations as I have mentioned, I think that the risk which is to be apprehended from a Protectionist Government attempting, or being suspected of attempting, a reversal of commercial policy would be avoided, and certainly it would be no bad bargain for Stanley.

Mr. F. Mills to Lord M.

1 The Terrace, Whitehall Gardens: 4.30 P.M., Feb. 24, 1851.

My dear Malmesbury,—To give you the news, I have ordered a seven o'clock newspaper to be put into the post at 7.25 to go to you to-night.

Lousdale kept sending to your house yesterday, thinking it were impossible you should not be up. At half-past six yesterday Stanley had made no communication of any sort to him. This is at least strange. He was the first man Peel used to consult.

I think the counties would stand at 5*s*. duty with the income and property tax taken off.

Bright told Roebuck yesterday, 'We will never stand Lord John as Prime Minister again.'

I go to Lowestoft on Friday, and on the following Friday to Brussels.

They talk of Labouchere, Francis Baring, and Sir C. Wood being made Peers.[1]

Lord Harrington is all but dead. He is at Brighton, and by the last accounts there was not the least spark of hope. There is, then, another loss, as Leicester, his brother, is worse than Cobden.

Ever yours, &c.
F. MILLS.

February 25th.—Lord Stanley has declined to form a

[1] They were created Taunton, Northbrook, and Halifax.

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Government at present, though it is understood he has expressed his willingness to do so should Lord John Russell fail in reconstructing his Ministry, which he declared last night in the House of Commons he had undertaken to do at the Queen's request. He has asked till Friday to make the necessary arrangements, and in the meantime all public business is suspended. Mr. Disraeli accused Lord John Russell of not being quite correct in his statements; and Lord Stanley in the House of Lords refused at present to say one word of what passed between him and the Queen, though he promised a full statement later. It is supposed that Lord John will try to form a coalition with the leading Peelites, but Sir James Graham asks for Lord Clarendon and six Cabinet places, which are hard terms. Nobody knows what part Lord Aberdeen will take. I came up to town to-day, and Sidney Herbert told me that Lord John Russell had failed in his endeavours to reconstruct his Government.

Lord Stanley to Lord M.

St. James's Square: Feb. 25, 1851.

Dear Malmesbury,—I must see you without a moment's delay. John Russell's attempted reconstruction has failed, the Peelites cannot form a Government, and I shall have to try my hand. Let me see you, if possible, in the course of to-morrow.

Yours ever,

STANLEY.

February 26th.—Lord John Russell has failed, and the Queen has again sent for Lord Stanley.

February 27th.—All the Peelites have refused to join Lord Stanley, although he offered Gladstone and Canning Cabinet places– the former Foreign Affairs. I think Lord Stanley will be unable to form a Government, but a few others and

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myself are to meet at his house at one o'clock, when it will probably be decided whether he gives up the attempt or not. My impression is that he will do so. Lord Aberdeen refused to attempt the task of forming a Cabinet, and yet the Peelites decline to join either the Whigs or us. I can't imagine what they want, for, being the weakest party in the country, they can't hope to govern by themselves.

February 28th.—We met at Lord Stanley's in St. James's Square, and have failed in forming a Government. He had previously requested me to take the Colonial Office, which I consider a great compliment, as it is one of the hardest worked of places. Those assembled were—Mr. Disraeli, Sir John Pakington, Mr. Walpole, Lord Hardwicke, Mr. Henley, Mr. Herries, Lord John Manners, and Lord Eglinton. Everything went smoothly, each willingly accepting the respective post to which Lord Stanley appointed him, excepting Mr. Henley, who made such difficulties about himself and submitted so many upon various subjects, that Lord Stanley threw up the game, to the great disappointment and disgust of most of the others present. Mr. Henley seemed quite overpowered by the responsibility he was asked to undertake as President of the Board of Trade, and is evidently a most nervous man. Mr. Disraeli did not conceal his anger at his want of courage and interest in the matter. Lord Stanley had written to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, who was at Constantinople, asking him to take the management of Foreign Affairs, which he at once consented to do. In the House of Lords, Lord Stanley announced his failure, and did not conceal it as being caused by the want of experience in public business which he found existed in his party. This is probably the case, but what really caused

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the break up of the conference was the timid conduct of Mr. Henley and Mr. Herries.

March 1st.—Lord Stanley's speech was a fine one, manly and straightforward, but I fear it will discourage his party. He says, alluding to them: 'A party, numerous no doubt, but still undoubtedly in a minority in the House of Commons on several occasions, and which unfortunately, though it no doubt numbers in its ranks men of talent and intellect, contains, I will not say no single individual, but hardly one individual of political experience and versed in official business. I feel that is a great disadvantage for any party to labour under; but there is a third party in the House of Commons, not indeed very extensive numerically, but most important as regards official experience and the talents of the great portion of its members. I mean that small party, in point of numbers, which has adhered to the policy of the late Sir Robert Peel.' This will appear to many as rather praising his opponents at the expense of his friends, and it will have the effect of making the former more difficult to deal with, and at the same time give discouragement, if not offence, to his own party. He then states the financial measures he would have proposed if he had come into office. His plan was to put on five shillings fixed duty on corn, and take threepence off the income tax preparatory to its total repeal, whenever the revenue of the country admitted it. Lord Stanley told me afterwards that 'the total want of decision in Mr. Herries and Mr. Henley made him see at once that they would be of no use. The latter seemed frightened rather than pleased at being in the Cabinet, and appeared paralysed.' This was quite true. As to Herries, he looked like an old doctor who had just killed a patient, and

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Henley like the undertaker who was to bury him. The difficulties Lord Stanley would have had to contend with were also very great—a majority against him in both Houses, the Mutiny Bill not passed, supplies not voted, and the time not favourable for a dissolution of Parliament—all confirmed him in his determination to give up the attempt; and he accordingly went to the Queen at five o'clock and announced his failure. The Queen had authorised him to say that if he had asked for a Dissolution she would not have refused. The Duke of Northumberland would have had the Admiralty. The Queen has sent for the Duke of Wellington to ask his advice. I expect that Lord John will reconstruct his Ministry *tant bien que mal*, and that even the Peelites will join it. I called upon Lady Stanley, who seems in great spirits at her husband not being in office.

March 2nd.—Norman Macdonald is appointed Vice-Chamberlain, a place for life worth twelve hundred a year. He called upon me to announce it as an old colleague at Oriel College. After Lord Stanley's speech Lady Jocelyn asked him whom he had meant by the person he alluded to who refused to join him on account of the pressure of his domestic duties. He answered 'Not Jocelyn,' at which she looked put out, for she evidently thought she had a good joke against him, the phrase having created a laugh. A few days ago, as I was returning home, I saw the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and Mr. Bonham Carter standing together near the gate of Sir Robert Peel's house in close consultation, looking as if they were invoking his ghost to inspire them.

March 6th.—Saw Ben Stanley, who was very much out

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of spirits, and confirms the report that the Government is in great difficulties. Nothing has occurred since they resumed office to strengthen them.

March 11th.—The Government were beaten last night on Lord Duncan's motion for paying the money derived from the revenues of the Crown into the Exchequer. They so little expected this that Ben Stanley, their Whip, prevented Lord Douro's voting for them, as he was ready to do, telling him there was no occasion for his staying, as they were sure of a majority. Lord Stanley seems confident of soon going into office, and has asked me to take his son Edward for my under-secretary, which is an additional compliment, and desires me to make out a list of those that I thought ought to have places. Nothing could be kinder or more flattering. Ben Stanley was walking a few days ago with Lord Bessborough and Lord Granville, the former of whom is Master of the Buckhounds, while the latter at one time held the place, talking of Lord Stanley's appointments. One of them asked what Lord Stradbroke was likely to have. 'Oh,' answered Ben, 'the Buckhounds, of course; that is the only place for a fellow like that.' The other two looked rather foolish at the *lapsus linguæ* of their companion. The motion upon Ceylon, accusing Lord Torrington of tyranny when Governor there, is put off. He seems confident of making out a good case for himself. The present Sir Robert Peel spoke in the House of Commons, and Disraeli says his speech was very clever, and so straightforward and honest that if his father had been there he would have disowned him.

March 26th. — The second reading of the Papal

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Aggression Bill passed this morning by a majority of 438 to 95.

March 28th.—Talking to Mr. Fortescue, he told me that Mrs. Lawrence, the American Minister's wife, said to him, speaking of her husband, 'A wonderful man, a very heavy man (meaning clever); when he goes to the east he tilts over the west.'

April 1st.—I hear that Lord Torrington made a very good speech this evening in defence of his conduct in Ceylon, and was cheered on all sides when he sat down.

April 2nd.—Sir Gilbert Heathcote has left all his landed property to his eldest son, who is also residuary legatee, with the exception of the Durdans, which he has left, with 5,000*l.* a year, to his youngest. Lady Olivia Ossulston and Lady Malmesbury went to a banquet at Merchant Taylors' Hall. Mr. Disraeli spoke well, but there was nothing particularly interesting in his speech. The most eloquent part of Lord Stanley's was that in which he alluded to Lord George Bentinck, which he did in the most feeling manner. The enthusiasm of the Conservative audience was unbounded, and the cheering when his health was drunk must have lasted five minutes.

April 5th.—Lady Lansdowne died the day before yesterday at Bowood, the immediate cause of her death being a paralytic stroke.

April 6th.—Edward Stanley called and told me we had no chance of turning out the Government this session, as

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they had evidently made friends again with the Radical party by promising to introduce a new Reform Bill this year.

April 8th.—The division on Mr. Herries' motion on the income tax took place yesterday, and the Government had a majority of 48.

April 12th.—The debate on Mr. Disraeli's amendment to the Assessed Taxes Act took place last night, and Ministers had a majority of 13. The amendment was that if any relief was given by the remission of taxes, the owners and occupiers of land should be the first to profit by it.

May 1st.—London Exhibition was opened to-day by the Queen. Went off quietly.

May 2nd.—Jew Bill passed second reading House of Commons by 25; 202 to 177. This will encourage the Peers.

May 6th.—Lord J. Russell refers income tax to Select Committee, and saves Government from another defeat. The Queen is going to give a fancy ball in June. Period, Charles II. Not becoming for ladies; handsome for gentlemen.

May 7th.—Ministers again defeated on Lord Naas's motion on spirits duty. Numbers equal. Roebuck made an insolent speech advising resignation. Lord John declined.

May 10th.—Mr. Urquhart moved resolution that the recent

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act of the Pope in appointing bishops in England was encouraged by her Majesty's Government. Beaten by 79. This will enable Ministers to go on to end of session.

May 17*th.*—Lady Londonderry appeared at Duke of Devonshire's play in a gown trimmed with green birds, small ones round the body and down the sides, and large ones down the centre. The beak of one of the birds caught in Queen's dress and was some time before it could be disentangled. Lady L. very proud of the episode.

May 21*st.*—I think we shall not beat Government on the cruelties at Ceylon by Lord Torrington. But I hope to succeed in effecting a reconciliation between our party and forty-five members of the National Club who went against us on Mr. Urquhart's motion from their foolish dislike of Disraeli and Mr. Beresford. I have had an interview with Mr. Bellamy, their leader, and think I shall succeed.

May 30*th.*—Adjourned debate on Ceylon resumed; majority for Government, 80. We dined with the Disraelis. Met M. Thiers, Mr. McCulloch, and Mr. Denison. I sat by Thiers, who, knowing that I was intimately acquainted with Prince Louis Napoleon, asked me a number of questions about him, and ended by saying, 'Je l'ai beaucoup étudié de près et de loin, et c'est un homme absolument *nul.*' To me, Thiers seemed the incarnation of vanity.

June 12*th.*—We went to the Queen's ball. It is said that Her Majesty received 600 excuses out of 1,400 invitations, and that she did not fill up their places. I thought it very inferior to the first two. Most of the fancy dresses shabby, as if

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they had been got up cheap. At the others everybody went to great expense, and they were magnificent. The period chosen was also more becoming. The dresses of most of the ladies resembled much the present fashion, differing only in the sleeves and the little curls. The gaunt figure of Sir Charles Knightley appeared in a pair of white satin shorts, which looked as if they had been put on hind part before, for they bulged out much in front and were tight behind, and he had neither coat nor cloak.

June 21*st*.—Went to Lady Palmerston's party, where I saw Narvaez and the Spanish beauty, Mademoiselle Montijo. Narvaez,[1] an ugly little fat man, with a vile expression of countenance; Mademoiselle Montijo[2] very handsome, auburn hair, beautiful skin and figure. Her grandmother was English or Irish, a Miss Kirkpatrick, which may account for her lovely complexion.

June 28*th*.—Lord Stanley sent for me early this morning, having received alarming accounts of Lord Derby, his father.[3]

June 30*th*.—Ben Stanley told me the Government were determined not to go out, and would rather submit to any humiliation. He was the eldest son of Lord Stanley of Alderley, and a member of the Government. He was nicknamed Sir Benjamin Backbite when at Oxford, from his satirical powers. He was a very amusing man, and clever.

[1] Narvaez, after being Prime Minister and heading several *pronunciamientos*, when asked on his deathbed whether he forgave his enemies, replied: 'I have none, as I always got rid of them.'

[2] Afterwards Empress of the French.

[3] He died a few days after.

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July 4th.—My brother, member for Christchurch, came up for third reading of Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was passed, with Sir Frederick Thesiger's amendments, before eight o'clock. Numbers on first division—208 for amendment; 129 against. Lord J. Russell moved omission of words giving power to common informers to institute proceedings. Lost by 124 to 175. House then divided on question that 'Bill do pass.' Carried by 263 to 46; majority 217. Irish members left House in a body before divisions.

I went to a great *fête* at Fulham, given by Mr. Lumley, manager of the Opera. All the Corps Diplomatique there.

July 7th.—We dined at Lord Cardigan's; thence to concert at Buckingham Palace.

July 10th.—Went in the evening to Madame Van de Weyer's. I hear the ball to the Queen at the Guildhall was extremely amusing. People very ridiculous. The ladies passed her at a run, never curtseying, and then returning to stare at her. Some of the gentlemen passed with their arms round the ladies' waists, others holding them by the hand at arm's length, as if they were going to dance a minuet. One man kissed his hand to the Queen as he went by, which set Her Majesty off in a fit of laughter.

August 7th.—Left London for Achnacarry, Lochiel's place, which I hired, and remained there till November 5.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: Sept. 5, 1851.

Dear Malmesbury,—I quite approve of your answer to Mr. Knox,[1] whose letter I enclose. It is not very easy to write civilly

[1] Editor of the *Morning Herald.*

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to a man that his paper is conducted with very little talent; and I admire the way in which you have managed to compliment the Editor, and smooth down any possible soreness he might feel.

. . . . . .

I send you one of the first impressions of the Menagerie [1] catalogue. You will, at all events, like to look at it, and perhaps some of the water birds may tempt you to become a purchaser. They are all to be sold by auction without any reserve, beginning on the 6th of October; and from the great number I think it probable they may go for very little. If you are inclined to give me a commission to buy for you, you shall be treated very honestly.

Ever, &c.

DERBY.

November 9th.—Chillingham Castle. Mr. Collingwood, a Northumbrian squire, told us that the people at Tynemouth will not have their daughters christened before their sons, as they say when that is done the sons never have any whiskers. I asked whether in that case the daughters had them instead?

November 10th.—Arrived at Knowsley. Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) looks very ill. Great *battue* shooting for next three days.

November 19th.—Lord Palmerston made a very Radical speech two days ago in reply to an address to him by the Finsbury Committee in favour of Kossuth,[2] the Hungarian

[1] The late Lord Derby had left the finest menagerie in England and probably in Europe, to supply which he used to send agents to all parts of the world.

[2] Lord Palmerston was always tampering with Kossuth and the Hungarian insurgents, and so was Louis Napoleon; but neither ever took a practical course in their favour, their object being to bully and frighten Austria and help Italy. Kossuth published a very curious conversation which he had with the Emperor.

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patriot. Almost all London is talking of it, and almost all blaming it.

November 23rd.—It is reported that Lord Palmerston is to go out in consequence of his Radical speech to the Finsbury deputation. His colleagues are all furious with him.

November 24th.—No truth in Lord Palmerston's resignation. Rain has fallen, after a very long drought.

November 25th.—Called on Madame and Mdlle. Gaggiotti. The latter a very remarkable person, and at Rome is surnamed Corinne, in consequence of her various talents. She is extremely handsome—of the Roman type—a great musician, speaks four languages, and paints very much above the average of professional artists. She has created a great sensation in London, and is making a good many portraits. She goes by her maiden name, but is married to, and separated from, a Mr. Richards, who is connected with the press.

I spoke the previous day at an agricultural dinner at Christchurch. It was difficult to satisfy the farming interest without compromising Lord Derby, whose name, however, I never mentioned; but I had to keep up their spirits without raising them too high by expectations that the old Protective duties could ever return even if we came into office. Lord Derby complimented me on it, and sent me a message to say that he was ready to father every sentiment in it. Lady Augusta Lennox's marriage with Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar went off very well, to the great edification of an immense congregation. The church was so full that several ladies got into the pulpit.

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November 28th.—Lord Derby praised my speech to the Duke of Richmond, and says he wishes its tone to be followed at the meeting on December 12.

November 29th.—Dined with the Palmerstons. Met Sir H. and Lady Bulwer, Count and Countess de Flahault, and several foreign Ministers.

December 2nd.—Great news from Paris. Generals Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, and Charras and M. Thiers have been arrested and taken to Vincennes, the President having discovered that they meant to anticipate him, as he told me when I saw him in April last. He has been well received by the people and with enthusiasm by the soldiers. A great many Deputies have been arrested. Changarnier is said to have resisted and Charras to have killed one of the police. The first proclamation is as follows:—

1. National Assembly dissolved.

2. Universal suffrage re-established and Law of May 31 abolished.

3. French people convoked in its electoral colleges from December 14 to 21.

4. State of siege decreed.

5. Council of State dissolved.

A second proclamation declares that the President's good intentions towards the people have been frustrated by the Assembly, and having proclaimed its dissolution he proposes to establish the following Government:—

1. A Chief Magistrate elected for ten years by universal suffrage.

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2. A Ministry depending upon the Executive alone.

3. A Council of State.

4. A Legislative Assembly elected by universal suffrage without scrutiny of the electoral list.

5. A Senate.

This *coup d'état* seems to have been determined upon and executed by Louis Napoleon unknown even to his Ministers, whom he dismissed the evening before, though no doubt Morny,[1] Persigny, Colonel Fleury, and Maupas were concerned in the plan. The movements of the troops on the two preceding days were supposed by all parties to be intended as a precaution against any insurrection in consequence of the Paris election then going on. About 200 representatives met on the morning of Tuesday at Count Daru's, one of the Vice-Presidents, but receiving a message from Colonel Lauriston, commanding the 10th legion, saying that he placed the Mairie of the 10th Arrondissement at their disposal, and that his legion would defend them, they repaired there and proceeded to deliberate, Daru in the chair. After a debate conducted in due form, and at which

[1] Morny was a recognised natural son of Count Flahault by Queen Hortense, and therefore the Emperor's half-brother. He was his right-hand man and generally gave him good advice, as he possessed great intelligence and tact, and was a man of the world. Morny told me that at the first period of Louis Napoleon's Presidency he was eager to fight for the Rhine, but that he had told him roughly that, if he did, 'les Allemands le flanqueraient dans le Rhin,' an opinion verified in 1870. Morny was made a duke, and being in a favourable position for speculating acquired a large fortune, married a Russian princess, and died before the fall of the Empire, being thus spared seeing a painful close to an eventful and prosperous life. I first knew him in Paris in 1834, when he was a man of fashion, and appreciated for his wit, and when he rode a steeplechase against an Englishman at La Croix de St. Berny, which he lost.

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the shorthand writers of the 'Moniteur' were present, the conduct of Louis Napoleon was declared to be illegal. In consequence they affirmed him to have forfeited all claims to the high dignity of President of the Republic, in conformity with Article 68 of the Constitution. Another decree frees the officers of the army and navy and the public functionaries from their oath of obedience to Louis Napoleon; the High Court of Justice is convoked to judge the President and his Ministers.

These decrees were signed by the members present, with Daru's name at the head. After they were passed, a body of the Chasseurs of Vincennes surrounded the building. M. Berryer addressed the people out of window, telling them they had pronounced the *déchéance* of the President. This was received very coldly.

The officer commanding the troops insisted upon entering, and in a few minutes the chamber was cleared. MM. Daru, Odilon Barrot, De Broglie, and Molé remained in the apartment. Daru was arrested, but the others were allowed to depart. The officer refused M. O. Barrot's request to be taken, saying he had no orders to do so. The President, with a numerous staff, rode along the quays at eleven o'clock, and reviewed the troops in the Place de la Concorde and in the Square of the Tuileries.

December 4th.—Attempt at insurrection yesterday at Paris, M. Baudin, a representative of the people, having harangued the workmen in the Rue St. Antoine and summoned them to take up arms for the delivery of the members arrested. Two barricades were erected, but were immediately taken by the soldiers and Baudin was killed. This put

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an end to the *émeute*, the insurgents having fled in all directions. The news from the Departments is good, so I trust Louis Napoleon is safe.

Sir Robert Peel has advertised his stud of hunters for sale in the following terms: 'To be sold at Messrs. Tattersalls', the entire stud of Sir Robert Peel, Bart., who is declining hunting with the Atherstone hounds in consequence of the unsportsmanlike conduct and political animosity, even in the hunting field, of certain Protectionist farmers.' They had insulted him and warned him off their land.

December 5th.—The French Minister of War has addressed a circular to the generals of the army: 'The soldiers are to vote for the election of a President within forty-eight hours from the receipt of the circular. "Yes or No" is simply to be replied to the proposition.'.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: Dec. 5, 1881.

Dear Malmesbury,—I ought sooner to have returned you the two letters which were enclosed in yours on the 14th, for which many thanks. That from Paris is very interesting, and the parallel between 1851 and 1797, to which I referred, very curious. Your friend (the President) has it all his own way, thanks to his own cleverness and boldness and the folly of his opponents. What use he may make of his power remains to be seen. I hope he will not verify the anticipations of your Paris correspondent; but for good or evil he has a great game before him. I hear Aberdeen is violent against him. I suspected the language in the 'Times' was of his inspiration. Palmerston, on the other hand, has taken him up warmly. Has that anything to do with his sudden ostracism? for it is quite clear he has not resigned, but that his colleagues have combined to turn him out. He will be a thorn in their side; but his ardent support of the *strong* measures taken by the Prince (President or Emperor?) will have lost him some of his popu-

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larity with the extreme Radicals. Tell me what you hear; I know nothing but from the newspapers.

. . . . . .

Yours very sincerely,

DERBY.

December 6th.—Serious *émeute* at Paris on 4th. Barricades erected and much fighting. Fifty thousand troops marched along Boulevards at 1.30, and were fired upon from some of the houses. All quiet again by 6 o'clock P.M., and placards announced the restoration of order. News from Lyons and provinces satisfactory.

December 7th.—Paris quiet. Funds risen two per cent. Only thirty-one representatives have been arrested. Election of the President takes place 20th or 21st. Some new regiments entered Paris, shouting 'Vive l'Empereur!' and all 'Vive Napoléon!' Changarnier, Cavaignac, Lamoricière, Leflô, Bedeau, Charras, Roger du Nord, are prisoners at Ham. What an irony of fate for these men, who had sent the Prince to the same prison a few years ago!

Christmas Day, Heron Court.—Sir George Bowles writes that Lord Palmerston is out of office, and that either Lord Granville or Lord Clarendon is to succeed him. There has been a quarrel between him and the Queen and Lord John, and various reports respecting the cause, which we shall soon know.

December 26th.—Article in the 'Times,' apparently official, giving clearly to understand that it was Lord Palmerston's approval of the President's *coup d'état* of December 2 which was the cause of his dismissal from office. It

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is, however, evident there has been some intrigue besides. Lord Palmerston is not a man to sit quiet under this mortification, and his secession will probably lead to a break up. Lord Granville is made Foreign Secretary.

M. de Persigny to Lord M.

Paris: Dec. 26, 1851.

My dear Lord,—Des préoccupations extraordinaires qui tiennent aux événements derniers m'ont empêché de répondre, aussi promptement que je l'aurais désiré, à votre dernière lettre. Je m'empresse aujourd'hui de profiter d'un moment plus tranquille pour vous dire d'abord que j'ai remis votre lettre au Prince, et qu'il est entièrement de votre avis sur ce qu'il y a à faire pour attirer les capitaux anglais dans notre pays et cimenter de plus en plus l'alliance qui doit exister entre les deux grands peuples.

Nous voyons ici avec beaucoup de regret l'ardeur de certains journaux anglais à dénaturer les événements qui viennent de s'accomplir; nous craignons que la persistance de cette hostilité n'égare les sentiments du peuple anglais et ne crée pour l'avenir des difficultés.

Je comprends en effet qu'il est difficile à l'esprit anglais de comprendre notre caractère national, habitué à un régime de gouvernement qui est admirable avec les éléments qu'il possède. L'Angleterre se rend difficilement compte des faiblesses de notre système parlementaire. En Angleterre la liberté et votre système parlementaire sont au profit de l'influence aristocratique. C'est le gouvernement des classes élevées, et ces classes élevées sont faites au gouvernement et admirablement intelligentes des intérêts publiques. En France, au contraire, les classes élevées sont complètement impropres au maniement des affaires. Elles sont, à l'exemple de notre ancienne noblesse, brillantes, légères, chevaleresques, frivoles, et guerrières; mais sans aucune des vertus nécessaires en un état libre, de sorte que le système parlementaire ne fonctionne qu'au profit du désordre, de l'anarchie, et aux dépens de l'autorité.

La France, en un mot, n'est qu'une grande démocratie qui a besoin d'être disciplinée, et nul élément n'est plus propre à la personnifier que l'élément Napoléonien. C'est là le secret de cette

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immense ovation populaire. On peut chercher à dénaturer le caractère des événements et dire, comme le 'Times,' que c'est la violence, la compression militaire qui forcent la population à donner leurs voix à Louis-Napoléon, mais cela ne peut se dire qu'en Angleterre, où l'on ne connaît pas le génie national de notre pays. Pour tout homme non prévenu il y a une réflexion bien simple. Comment une armée qui n'a pas fait la guerre et qui n'est composée que de jeunes soldats, aurait-elle l'esprit du despotisme militaire? Comment pourrait-elle se séparer des sentiments des masses et violenter le pays, quand elle sort chaque année des entrailles du pays et qu'elle y rentre chaque année? La vérité c'est que l'armée est pleine du sentiment national. C'est le secret de tout ce qui vient de se passer. Quand le sentiment national était contraire au gouvernement, comme en 1830 et 1848, l'armée n'a été d'aucun secours au pouvoir. Aujourd'hui, au contraire, qu'elle a exprimé le sentiment public, elle a pu tout faire, sans aucune résistance sérieuse. Quant aux grandes masses, elles sont ivres de joie et d'enthousiasme, et jamais révolution ne fut si facile ni si populaire. Je sais bien qu'on peut se demander si après le rôle qu'elle a joué dans les derniers événements l'armée ne sera pas avide de se produire et de se jeter dans les aventures.

Ce danger n'est pas sérieux. L'armée n'a pas le sentiment d'avoir violenté la nation, mais d'avoir, au contraire, servi à l'expression de son opinion. Il n'y a pas dans les têtes militaires la moindre trace d'ambition guerrière; personne ne songe à recommencer les aventures, et le Prince Président moins que personne.

La plupart des officiers supérieurs sont mariés et âgés, et ils ne demandent qu'à vivre en paix; ils redoutaient la division des parties parlementaires, puisqu'à leurs yeux c'était le triomphe certain des éleménts révolutionnaires, et qu'avec le triomphe de la démagogie leur position, leur grade, leur retraite—tout cela était perdu, et ils se sont sauvés en sauvant la nation. Voilà tout. Et ils sont satisfaits maintenant, ne demandant que la paix et le repos. Ce serait donc une folie inconcevable que d'ameuter les esprits en Angleterre contre un péril qui n'existe pas, car ce serait le moyen de le créer.

Si les efforts que l'on fait en Angleterre pour dénaturer les événements réussissaient, ce n'est pas du côté de l'armée française que viendrait le danger, mais du côté du peuple, dont on ranimerait les anciennes haines nationales, quand elles ne demandent qu'à

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s'éteindre complètement. J'espère donc que les hommes d'état d'Angleterre s'efforceront de maintenir la bonne amitié qui existe, heureusement, entre les deux pays. Plus l'on cherche en ce moment à égarer le peuple anglais, plus il importe que les deux gouvernements se donnent des témoignages d'estime et de confiance, et plus il est nécessaire, comme vous le comprenez si bien, de lier les deux peuples par les intérêts matériels. Le Président est tout-à-fait dans ces sentiments; il fera tout pour favoriser les idées que vous lui soumettez. Rien ne lui serait plus odieux que d'être amené par des mouvements d'opinion publique en Angleterre à reprendre cet héritage de haine et de jalousie qu'il a le premier répudié. Du reste, je ne crois pas que l'on parviendra en Angleterre à agacer l'opinion publique; tout ce qui se fait et se prépare ici éclairera les esprits et la vérité se fera jour, et bien loin d'amener le refroidissement entre les deux peuples, j'ai la conviction profonde que le grand acte du deux décembre aura, au contraire, pour résultat de cimenter plus que jamais la bonne harmonie entre les deux nations.

Pardonnez-moi ces réflexions, faites à la hâte. Soyez assez bon pour me faire connaître de temps en temps ce que vous savez de l'opinion en Angleterre et tâchons tous les deux de contribuer à l'œuvre commune.

Votre bien dévoué,

F. DE PERSIGNY.

December 30th.—Lord Palmerston never went to Windsor to give up the seals, and after waiting for him some time Lord John delivered them to the Queen, who gave them to Lord Granville.

1852

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Hughenden: Jan. 2, 1852.

My dear Lord,—I have arrived at the same conclusion with respect to Lord John's *coup d'état*, and am gratified that my view is sanctioned by one of your acumen and knowledge of circumstances

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and persons. The fact is, the Government have entirely changed their foreign policy; under ordinary circumstances, instead of making a victim of the Secretary of State, they should have resigned. I assume, therefore, from Lord John's conduct, that, after our self-confessed incapacity of last February, he and the Court no longer recognise us as a practical power in the State.

I return you Lonsdale's letter. When he objects to the prominence given by my motions in the House of Commons to the subject of local taxation, he forgets those motions last year gave us the government of the country. Whether abstract Protection will be as successful is a problem not yet solved.

Yours very truly,

D.

January 3rd.—Louis Napoleon has been elected President for ten years by 7,600,000 votes. Ceremony at Notre Dame on January 1 seems to have been splendid. He was received with immense enthusiasm, and a great many cries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' He has restored the eagle on the standard and the Legion of Honour. Receptions to be at the Tuileries. It is said that the Queen received Lady Palmerston very coldly some time ago, before Lord Palmerston's dismissal, when she went to present the Portuguese Minister's wife and other ladies. The Queen asked them all to stay, but did not invite her, so she had to return alone to London. Lord Palmerston's speech about Kossuth has done him great harm at Court and everywhere.

January 4th.—Our Ambassador at Paris, Lord Normanby, insinuated to M. Turgot, French Foreign Minister, that our Government did not approve of the *coup d'état.* Turgot replied, he could hardly believe that, as Count Walewski,[1]

[1] I first knew Count Walewski during the Polish Rebellion of 1831, when he came to London, sent by the Revolutionary Committee, to negotiate with our Government for assistance. He was then only twenty-one, and a

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the French Ambassador in London, had written to say that Lord Palmerston told him he cordially approved of it. Lord Normanby then wrote, it is supposed, to Lord John Russell, informing him of this; and this I believe is the real cause, or rather pretence, for Lord Palmerston's dismissal. Count de Flahault gave me the official return of the killed and wounded in Paris on December 4, from which it appears that, beside the soldiers, 215 persons were killed; of these, 137 fell at the barricades, and 88 have since died of their wounds; 115 were wounded as well. Some were hidden from fear of prosecution. Only ten *curieux* were killed.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: Jan. 7, 1852.

Dear Malmesbury,—I only write a line (for I have had much to write, and my wrist is not so long-enduring as it used to be), to thank you for your letter of the 5th, and the current reports of the day. I have had accounts from many quarters of the cause and mode of Palmerston's 'resignation,' and they all agree so nearly, with some variation in the minor details, that it is not difficult to make out a complete history of the transaction, nor, consequently, to estimate the frame of mind in which it has left the ex-Forcign Secretary. I think Wodehouse's appointment not unlikely, and, as far as it goes, not an unfit one; but it would give them no strength in the Commons, where they want it. I do not think they will apply to Graham, nor that he will join them if they do. On the whole, their prospects are gloomy enough; but whether any Government can be formed, and stand, out of the heterogeneous materials to be dealt with, is a very different question. The same post which brought me your letter brought me one

very handsome and pleasing young man, being a softened likeness of his father, the Emperor Napoleon. He was very well received in society, and elected at our fashionable clubs. He soon afterwards married Lord Sandwich's daughter, who died. His second wife was a Florentine, a beautiful woman, who did the honours of their embassy to perfection. He died quite suddenly, and comparatively young, at an hotel at Strasburg in 1869.

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also from Disraeli; but so far from being 'mopy,' I never knew him write or speak in a more sanguine tone. I expect to find him quite up to the mark when I go up to town, which I propose to do on the 29th, leaving this place on the 27th, and taking Burghley and Hatfield on my way. I have probably got your letter about Louis Napoleon, and if so, can put my hand on it at once when I go to town. It will be at least curious, and may be useful to look back to it.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

January 11th.—Papers announce arrival of a boat at Brest with twenty-five people from the 'Amazon,' burnt at sea. This dreadful disaster will confirm the superstition of seamen as to ill-luck of starting on a Friday, the 'Amazon' having started on her first voyage, Friday, January 2. Cause of burning yet a mystery.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: January 18, 1852.

My dear Malmesbury,—I received your letter at the railway station yesterday, as I passed through London on my way home from Windsor. You are perfectly right in the instructions you have given to Knox. Mr. Phillips has no authority whatever to speak or write in my name, nor have I in any degree made him acquainted with my views. I continue to think that a recurrence to duties on imports, including corn, is desirable both on financial and on political grounds; and I can neither abandon this belief, nor a line of policy founded on it, until a general election has convinced me that that which I think the best thing for the country is an unattainable good. Should the country prove not to be with us, I should feel absolved from the duty of protracting a hopeless struggle, which, while it continues, must cause serious injury by the uncertainty it creates as to the final result; but to take office as a Protectionist, and then spontaneously abandon the principle of Protection, would involve a degree of baseness, from the imputation of which I should have hoped that my 'antecedents' (to borrow a French expression) might have relieved me. I return you the

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correspondence between Messrs. Knox and Phillips.[1] A few days will give me an opportunity of stating to the party my views in a way not to be open to any misapprehension.

Your friend in Paris is going an alarming pace. He must have an utter contempt for his countrymen, and, if he finally succeeds, they most richly deserve it.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

January 22nd.—Letter in 'Morning Herald,' very absurd one, written by Mr. Blood, the clergyman who was saved from the 'Amazon,' who in the most canting and ridiculous language says he was warned by a mysterious voice, when he lay down in his cabin, not to undress. The voice said: 'Blood, don't take off your coat; Blood, don't take off your spectacles;' and he ends his letter by saying that 'his health has greatly benefited by tossing on the billows.'

January 25th.—A decree of President issued, confiscating whole property of Orleans family—i.e. obliging them to sell, which is nearly the same thing. M. de Morny and M. Fould refuse to sign the decrees, and after two days' discussion, President insisting, they resigned. M. de Persigny[2] replaces

[1] Journalists.

[2] Persigny, whose real name was Fialin, was one of those adventurers who looked forward with confidence to the success of Louis Napoleon's fatalism and dreams of ambition, and proved it by the most absolute devotion, and, I must add, personal affection for his master, whom he always accompanied bravely through his failures and imprisonments. Faithful to the Emperor, the Emperor was faithful to him, and loaded him with honours. He was a courageous and impetuous man, and his hot temper was against his success as an ambassador, but he was intelligent and, I believe, did not, like most others of the Napoleonic category, prepare his pockets for a stormy day, for he died poor, soon after the fall of the Empire, expressing on his death-bed his devotion for his master, and his regret at having, in the

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M. de Morny as Minister of the Interior. These tyrannical measures will do harm to Louis Napoleon. This last one, so evidently of revenge, is sure to be much abused.

January 31*st.*—Called on Lord Derby. He thought a 20*l.* franchise for the counties quite as good for us as the 50*l.*; but 10*l.* would be destruction. If Lord John did not resign and had a dissolution it would make all government impossible. He is himself determined to accept office if it should be offered him.

February 1*st.*—Dined at Lord Derby's. Too many to discuss politics satisfactorily. We are not to oppose introduction of the Reform Bill.

February 3*rd.*—Parliament met to-day. No amendment proposed to the Queen's Speech. Lord Derby made a magnificent one, which will I hope satisfy farmers. Lord John in the Commons stated his reasons for dismissing Lord Palmerston from office. His speech was a good one—very eloquent—but his case against Lord Palmerston very insufficient. Lord Palmerston's defence feeble. He could not deny any facts brought against him of official disobedience, but they were not serious enough to warrant his dismissal. It is pretty evident that the Queen and Prince Albert insisted upon it, and Lord John seized the opportunity to quarrel with him and turn him out. The whole dispute turned upon Lord Palmerston having in the first instance, in conformity with

irritation of defeat, reproached him for his misfortunes. This message was delivered to the Emperor, who mentioned it to me. I first made Persigny's acquaintance at the Eglinton Tournament, at which he rode as squire to the Prince.

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the decision of the Cabinet in consequence of the *coup d'état* of December 2, written an official despatch to Lord Normanby, saying he was to continue his relations with the French Government as usual, and that it was the Queen's desire that nothing should be done by her Ambassador at Paris which could bear the appearance of interference of any kind in the internal affairs of France.

Then, in a conversation with Count Walewski, Lord Palmerston told him he approved of the *coup d'état*. Lord Normanby wrote to Lord John complaining of the embarrassing situation he was placed in by this declaration of Lord Palmerston not agreeing with his official instructions. Lord John thereupon wrote to Lord Palmerston for an explanation, but got no answer. Several days elapsed, and on December 13 he received a messenger from the Queen, at Woburn, asking for an explanation of Lord Normanby's letter. Again he wrote to Lord Palmerston, who never sent any answer till the 17th, when he sent him copies of two despatches, one to and one from Lord Normanby, which, not being satisfactory, and the whole conduct of Lord Palmerston in the matter being considered by Lord John contrary to the principle laid down—namely, 'that no important steps were to be taken on foreign affairs without the concurrence of the Prime Minister'—and also that he had shown disrespect to the Queen, he, without consulting his colleagues, intimated to Lord Palmerston that he was to retire from office. Lord John wrote on Saturday, December 20, to the Queen, advising her to require Lord Palmerston's resignation; and on the 22nd, at the Cabinet, he read the whole correspondence to the other members, who (he says) approved of the course he had taken. Lord Palmerston denies none of these statements, but rests his defence upon the principle

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that a private conversation is very different from an official communication, and that no business could be done if there were any restraint upon the intercourse between the Foreign Secretary and Foreign Ministers. He asked in his speech, 'Is her Majesty's Minister to sit like a dolt, when a Foreign Ambassador converses on some great event, without giving him any answer or making any observation?' Here the matter rests for the present.[1]

February 11th.—Dined with the Montroses—a Tory party of twenty-four. Lord Colville is to be our whip in the House of Lords, *vice* Lord Nelson. I was almost all the afternoon with Lord Derby, discussing the Reform Bill, but without much effect, as we are not strong enough either to amend or throw it out unless the Peelites join us.

February 13th.—Lord Derby seems quite knocked down by this Reform Bill, for which, strange to say, he seems to have been unprepared. I found him to-day without his usual energy. I am very anxious he should meet it by a counter bill or resolution, but he will not hear of it, and treated Disraeli coldly when he proposed it. A mutual dislike between them might have serious consequences, but the two men are so different in character that it can hardly be otherwise; yet they cannot do without one another at present. I have great confidence in Disraeli's good temper and ambition to see that such is the case.

[1] Old diplomatists must know the difference between an *officious* and an *official* conversation. The first is the free interchange of opinions between the two Ministers, and compromises neither; the latter would do so, and bind their Governments. I always, when at the Foreign Office, prefaced a conversation by aying on which footing it was to be understood.

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February 15*th.*—Went to Heron Court with Mr. Bentinck and Lord Anson. Lady Adelaide Vane's elopement with her brother's tutor, Mr. Law, engages the attention of all society, to the exclusion even of the Reform Bill.

February 16*th.*—My brother, M.P. for Christchurch, arrived for Lord Derby's meeting at Lord Eglinton's house. Only House of Commons.

February 19*th.*—Lady Derby asked Lady Malmesbury whether I should not prefer the Foreign Office to the Colonial, which he had offered me last year at the crisis, as she thought it might be arranged if I wished it.

February 20*th.*—Lord Naas brought forward his motion of censure with respect to the Irish Government. Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston defended Lord Clarendon, who was Viceroy, and the Government had a majority of 92. Lord Clarendon had committed himself with a disreputable journalist. Very imprudent! The division pleased our party, though beaten. My brother came in the evening announcing defeat of Government on Lord Palmerston's amendment to the Militia Bill by majority of 11, upon which Lord John said he would resign. This event was so unexpected that Lord Derby went this morning to Badminton on a visit.

February 21*st.*—Went to Disraeli's after breakfast, and found him in a state of delight at the idea of coming into office. He said he 'felt just like a young girl going to her first ball,' constantly repeating, 'Now we have got a *status*.' With all his apparent apathy when attacked in the House

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of Commons, he is always, when out of it, in the highest state of elation or lowest depth of despair, according to the fortune of the day. People are talking of a combination between Lord Palmerston, Lord Clarendon, and the Peelites. Dined with the Cannings. Have seen Lord Derby, who wants me to take the Foreign Office, which I am very unwilling to do, as it will keep me in London the whole year. Nothing, however, can be settled until Lord Derby has seen the Queen, which he is to do to-morrow at 2.30.

February 22nd.—Lord Derby had an audience of the Queen, and accepted the Government. He proposed me as Foreign Secretary. H.M. also agreed to Lord Palmerston taking office again, but not to lead the House of Commons. Lord Palmerston had written to Lord Derby yesterday, offering to open communications with him; so, on his return from the Palace, Lord Derby wrote to ask him to call. I was with him when the answer came saying that Lord Palmerston would come immediately. I then went to the Carlton Club, whence I saw Lord Palmerston passing our window, with his jaunty air, towards St. James's Square. I returned to Lord Derby's at 9 P.M., and have arranged many of the appointments with him, Disraeli recommending the names of the members of the House of Commons.

Paris : ce 23 février 1852.

Mon cher Lord Malmesbury,—Si l'éloquente vengeance de Lord Palmerston aboutit à vous faire monter à une place que j'ai toujours pensé devoir tôt ou tard être réservée aux nobles qualités qui vous distinguent, je ne veux pas être la dernière à venir vous en faire mes compliments. Vous savez s'ils sont sincères, car vous n'avez jamais douté de mon amitié bien dévouée.

Et si le Ministère doit se composer en dehors de vous (ce dont je ne saurais vous plaindre, car les honneurs de nos jours plus que

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jamais sont chèrement achetés), venez alors nous faire une petite visite à Paris pendant vos vacances. Ce n'est pas sans profit pour un homme comme vous de venir voir de près la physionomie étrange de cette France dans une époque si incroyablement extraordinaire !

A mon retour en France dans le mois d'août je suis partie pour l'Italie, où j'ai passé quatre mois dans la terre que j'ai près de Florence. Là j'ai pu souvent parler de vous avec mon frère, qui m'a chargé de vous dire mille choses.

Lorsque j'ai quitté Florence le ciel politique de la France était seulement très-orageux, mais la nue n'avait pas éclaté. J'ai employé six jours à parcourir la belle route de la Corniche le long de la Mediterranée, et les parfums des orangers et la douce végétation tropicale que protège le vivifiant soleil de ce pays enchanteur m'ont fait oublier tellement la politique que je n'ai pas demandé un journal jusqu'à Nice. Là j'ai appris les étranges événements de Paris. Mon mari est parti de suite pour Paris, en traversant avec son intrépidité ordinaire les départements en feu. Moi, je suis restée à Nice quelques jours, et puis je me suis hasardée, moi aussi, au milieu du feu. J'ai vu le spectacle de toutes ces malheureuses populations égarées en lutte avec la force armée — moitié en fuite, se cachant dans les bois le jour, et moitié enchaînée—de tout âge, de tout sexe, n'ayant plus d'humain que les noms.[1]

Mais, malgré mon équipage, peu du goût des socialistes, je n'ai souffert aucun affront, et je suis arrivée saine et sauve à Paris.

Et vous, mon cher Lord Malmesbury, vous aussi, vous avez passé vos jours d'automne au milieu de massacres ! que de victimes vous devez avoir fait dans vos belles chasses d'Ecosse !

Si vous avez un instant, veuillez me donner de vos nouvelles, et me dire si votre santé est bonne, et si nous avons quelque chance de vous revoir cette année.

Croyez à mon amitié bien sincère.

MARQUISE DE BOISSY.

P.S.—La Duchesse de Grammont devait dîner chez moi hier. Elle ne l'a pu, parce que le Duc est tellement malade qu'on ne le quitte plus un instant.

February 23rd.—Lord Palmerston refuses to join Lord

[1] The horrors committed by the French mobs were too unnaturally dreadful to be described, especially at Clemecy.

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Derby on account of Protection. Lord Derby has made his list, and there is to be a general meeting of the new Cabinet at his house this morning. I got a letter from Louis Napoleon the day before yesterday, renewing his assurances of amity towards England, but complaining of our armaments, which he said showed suspicion. Got a message from Lord Derby at 8 P.M., desiring me to go to him directly to help him to settle the Court appointments. The Queen wants the Duchess of Northumberland to be Mistress of the Robes. I hear M. Brünnow, Russian Ambassador, was very much alarmed at Madame Walewska's party at being told Sir Stratford Canning was to be Foreign Secretary. He said, 'Allons, donc! c'est une mauvaise plaisanterie!' Lord Derby had sounded Sir Stratford last year about taking the Foreign Office, when he jumped at the appointment, but on reflection, after the long antagonism between him and the Emperor of Russia it would have been looked on as an insult by Nicholas. Sir Stratford will never forgive me for being the innocent cause of this apparent slight. His talents are beyond dispute, but his temper is so despotic and irritable, that he can only display them in a peculiar kind of diplomacy. He managed the Turks in their own way, and it was Sultan *versus* Sultan. With him at the Foreign Office there could have been no peace with Russia or in the Cabinet. I went to the Carlton Club, the state of which I can only compare to the Bourse at Paris, or a fair in England, such was the excitement.

From Louis Napoleon, Prince President, to Lord M.

Elysée: 24 février 1852.

Mon cher Lord Malmesbury,—Je ne veux pas tarder à vous féliciter du poste élevé où la confiance de la Reine vous a appelé, mais je

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m'en félicite surtout pour les bons rapports qui doivent en résulter pour les deux pays. Nous avons reçu ici avec grand plaisir Lord et Lady Cowley, et nous serions très-heureux si le changement de Ministère ne les entraînait pas à sa suite. Croyez, mon cher Lord Malmesbury, que vous trouverez toujours mon gouvernement franc, loyal, animé des sentiments les plus amicaux, et prêt à s'entendre avec le vôtre pour tout ce qui peut assurer la paix et les progrès de la civilisation.

Je vous renouvelle l'assurance de ma sincère amitié.

LOUIS-NAPOLÉON.

Lord Palmerston to Lord M.

C. G.: February 24, 1852.

My dear Malmesbury.—I shall be happy both on personal and public grounds to give you any information which I can give, and which you may think useful to you, with reference to the state of our foreign relations, and I will either receive you here or call upon you, as best may suit you, at any time most convenient to you to-morrow. Your time is not entirely at your disposal, mine is at my own command; I shall, therefore, await your appointment.

Yours sincerely,

PALMERSTON.

February 25th.—I called on Lady Palmerston and Lady Jersey, both at home; Lady Jersey in greatest delight at Lord J. being Master of the Horse. Lady Clementina *rayonnante.* Lord Brougham called, and in his mad manner fell on his knees before Lady Malmesbury, kissed her hand, and then asked me whether Louis Napoleon was not my son. I answered I did not know, but there was one reason against it—namely, that he was nearly, if not as old as myself. Lord Brougham laughed, and said, 'It would have been still more curious if he had been older.'

February 26th.—Duchess of Northumberland has refused to be Mistress of the Robes, on the plea that she would have

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to manage the Duke's private business, now that he is First Lord of the Admiralty.

Lord M. to President Louis Napoleon.

London: February 26, 1852.

Sir,—I have to express to your Royal Highness my sincere thanks for the honour you have done me by the kind letter I received from your Royal Highness yesterday.

To the high gratification I feel at the mark of Her Majesty's confidence by which I have been just distinguished is added that of knowing that your Royal Highness is personally pleased with my appointment, and also with that of Lord Cowley at Paris.

Lord Derby entertains the highest opinion of his abilities and honourable character, and it is a satisfaction to him to know that your Royal Highness has already appreciated them.

Your Royal Highness may feel assured that I shall enter upon my duties with the most complete conviction that amity between France and England is not only necessary to the prosperity of both these countries, but also to the general interests of civilisation; and it was with the liveliest pleasure that I read this sentiment so frankly and loyally expressed in the letter of your Royal Highness.

I have known your Royal Highness too long to fear that, with your great power for good or for evil, you will hesitate between them.

With every assurance of personal friendship, I have the honour to be, &c.

MALMESBURY.

February 27th.—I went to the Queen this morning at Windsor, to kiss hands, and to receive the seals of office. The joke on Dizzy's appointment is, that 'Benjamin's mess will be five times as great as the others!' I began my work this morning. I have settled to do the writing at my house, and to see the Foreign Ministers at the office. The whole of the Corps Diplomatique have received me most kindly, with the exception of the Van de Weyers. I believe it is because they are strong Orleanist partisans and think I am

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a Bonapartist. He is a clever, agreeable man, and was formerly a librarian (?) in Belgium. He married a rich American, Miss Bates, who always gave herself great airs.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, Ambassador at Paris, on Neufchâtel, &c.

Foreign Office: March 2, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,—The reply to your last despatch, giving officially the views of Lord Derby's Government on the Swiss question, will follow in a few days.[1] Suffice it to say, that at present we cannot sanction or approve in any way the conduct of the French Government in this matter, and still less the reasons on which they found their course towards Switzerland. At the same time, as Austria supports the President, and Russia is neuter, we cannot effectively prevent his intentions, and must urge on the Swiss the expediency of acting with moderation as long as they do not sacrifice their independence for the future. The last despatch of Mr. Maginnis (English Minister at Berne) is reassuring on this point, and I send it to you.

I believe you are aware of my having formerly had an intimate acquaintance with the President—an accident that he has had the *maladresse* to put forward ostentatiously in his newspapers. When I was appointed, and before I kissed hands, I received from him a letter of congratulation, expressing in the strongest terms his peaceable intentions and desire of promoting civilisation. I enclose a copy. I answered it in my *private* capacity. There is no reason you should not allude to this letter (which the *Queen* has seen), and tell him how satisfactory its receipt is to this Government. Before the last Government resigned, and about a month since, I wrote to him a strong remonstrance on the subject of the Orleans property decrees. He replied, with continued and repeated assurances of friendship to England, but declared the confiscation necessary, as even some of his own new Senators had been tampered with by Orleanist agents and money. This is quite a *marotte* with him, and Walewski is strongly against him on this point. You may depend upon his being a man of action and counsel, relying on no other agent but his own inspirations, but with great self-command and

[1] The French wished the Swiss Government to expel the refugees.

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power of self-denial if his passions are at variance with his interests. He is very superstitious, and was formerly very accessible to romantic and chivalrous impressions, and in private transactions most jealous of his *word* and his *honour*. I give you these hints (*experto crede*), because you will at once see their value where future events must depend on the single will of one man.

. . . . . .

My belief is that, on the Swiss question, if anything can be done, and the President is not seeking a quarrel, you cannot do better than communicate with him personally. He will, if it suits him, throw over Turgot.[1]

I must add that in his note he expressed a wish that you should remain at Paris, of which, of course, there never was a doubt.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord Westmoreland, Ambassador at Vienna, to Lord M.

March 4, 1852.

My dear Malmesbury,—I write you these few words to say that Prince Schwarzenberg has, I know, transmitted this day by messenger to Count Buol a despatch, in accordance with his promise to me as reported in my letter of the day before yesterday; and from the report I have received of this despatch, I believe you will be satisfied with the sentiments it expresses. The speech of Lord Derby, and the language he holds as to foreign Governments, has had the best effect here both with the Government and the public. As a proof of it I enclose the articles from two of the semi-official newspapers of this town.

Very sincerely yours,

WESTMORELAND.

Marquess of Lansdowne to Lord M., on his Accession to the Foreign Office.

March 1852.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—Having been prevented from going to the *levée* yesterday, where I might probably have met you, I have had no opportunity of thanking you since the last sitting of

[1] Turgot was French Minister for Foreign Affairs.

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the House of Lords for the very kind and cordial expressions of kindness you used in alluding to what I had said on that occasion.[1]

I assure you that they were doubly gratifying to me as coming from you, awakening some of the most agreeable recollections of my early life and of former friendships.

Apart from all political considerations, I sincerely wish you success in the discharge of the new duties you have undertaken, and remain, Very truly yours,

LANSDOWNE.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. James's Square: March 1852.

Dear Malmesbury,—If I am late for dinner you will have made me so. The despatches [the Austrian Notes] you have sent me are very satisfactory, and I am glad we have got them just at this moment. I must have them again if they are left with you, as of course they must be, to be answered. Our tone should be as cordial as possible, but we must take care what we say, for there is rather *too* great a desire to exhibit us as following exactly the same line as Austria, and I have no idea of committing the Government to another Holy Alliance. The despatch about France is as singular as it is satisfactory. Austria would seem to say, 'How happy could I be with either!' but just at this moment she thinks us the *safest* ally. Ever yours,

DERBY.

March 6th.—Met Lord Grey, who told me they meant to oppose us in both Houses, and expected to turn us out in three weeks.

Dined at Northumberland House; met a large party, including almost all the Cabinet. Lord Derby said to my wife, 'I have been driving a team of young horses this morning; not one had ever been in harness before, and they went beautifully; not one kicked amongst them.' All kinds of jokes were made in respect of our being such novices in office; and Lady Clanricarde, intending to quiz Lord Derby

[1] His intended retirement from public life. He died in 1865.

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about the appointment of Sir John Pakington to the Colonies, said, across a large dinner table, 'Are you sure, Lord Derby, that he is a *real* man?' To which he replied, 'Well, I think so—he has been married three times.'

Lord M. to Lord Westmoreland, H.M. Ambassador at Vienna, on his first interview with Count Buol.

London: March 8, 1852.

My dear Lord Westmoreland,—

. . . . . .

I grieve at the contents of your last despatch, received yesterday, which describes the animus of Prince Schwarzenberg towards this country. Your private letter to Granville I have not opened, and it has been sent to the country after him. When we came into office I hoped to find at once a positive disposition to reconciliation on the part of Buol. Having had my *levée* on Monday, the 1st inst., he asked for an appointment the next day. When he arrived he began, certainly, by hoping that the new Government would establish better relations between our Courts; but immediately proceeded to ask for a condemnation of Granville's last despatch to him on the subject of the Modena and Papal Notes, and of his refusing to read those Notes. He took a very high tone, describing it as a positive affront to him, unsupported by any precedents in the forms of diplomacy. He hinted at being bound to retire altogether from communicating with us till he heard from Vienna. He foresaw great anger from the Emperor, who was so young; and, in short, spoke of the fact of the despatch, and of the circulating that despatch among our Ministers at other Courts, as an *ensemble* requiring reparation to him personally and to his Court, a reparation which we ought to grant in the form of a written condemnation of my predecessor's conduct in this matter.

I contented myself by asserting the *right* we had to refuse Notes of this important nature when presented by *unaccredited* persons. So far I approved of Granville's *act*, but of course would not be responsible if in his *manner* he had committed any solecism.

. . . . . .

I must say Buol's manner was anything but agreeable, and he alternately tried to bully and to mystify me as to diplomatic usages

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in a way which can only be accounted for from his supposing (and justly so) that he was dealing with an inexperienced hand. I must leave it to you to assure Prince Schwarzenberg of our anxious desire to resume our old relations of cordial amity with Austria. Surely the best way is to drop any further correspondence whatever on these Notes and the Refugee Question. The latter we cannot entertain for a moment, even if Lord Derby did not feel as strongly as he does the injustice and impossibility of yielding to any demand for the expulsion of refugees from this country as long as they conform to its laws and do not give their conspiracies a practical form. You must be aware that no Government which complied with such demands could exist a month in England. I trust you will be able to have orders sent here to let bygones be bygones, and to avoid all reference to the past.

The President (Louis Napoleon) is full of peaceful and friendly professions, and the last despatch from Maginnis states the Swiss to be inclined to yield to reasonable demands. Walewski says that Austria first proposed the occupation of Switzerland, and that it is to prevent it that France has taken up the question.

. . . . . .

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Sir Stratford Canning, H.M. Ambassador at Constantinople, on the Tanzimat Law.

London: March 8, 1852.

My dear Sir Stratford,—

. . . . . .

I should like to have your opinion as to the expediency of inviting Russia, France, and Austria to join us in urging the Sultan to except Egypt from the new law respecting capital punishment, and to reduce our demand to five years, which would cover the construction of the Suez railway.

. . . . . .

MALMESBURY.

March 10th.—Duke of Wellington, Jerseys, Brünnows, Van de Weyers, Buols, Derbys, and Lord Bath, dined with us. The Duke is nearly stone deaf.

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Lord Hardwicke confiscated the latchkey of forty housemaids at the General Post Office in London, at the risk of a revolution in his Department.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris, on Neufchâtel.

Foreign Office: March 11, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,—

. . . . . .

I have now to inform you that Bunsen has come forward with a proposition (I enclose it) respecting a recognition by the four Powers of Prussia's rights over Neufchâtel. Now, however we may and do acknowledge these rights, which are confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna, there would be no advantage in repeating such an undisputed fact by a new protocol, unless collateral objects recommended it. One of these, it is thought, would be worth having in the repeated recognition of Swiss independence and neutrality. Assuming the project to be desirable, it appears to me doubtful whether France would consent to it as well as the other Powers, and if she refused she would then be on another line. I would therefore request you to discover privately whether, in the event of such a proposal as this of Bunsen's being made, France would consent to join the other four Powers.

My own opinion (even supposing we are convinced of the policy of strengthening the liens of the Treaty of 1815 respecting Switzerland) is that this is not the time to do it—that we ought at this moment to appear to the Swiss as the independent and real friend, offering honourable and reasonable advice in their present difficulties. I think that if, simultaneously with our present representations in this sense, we urged the acknowledgment of the King of Prussia's claims in conjunction with two nations who are in the act of bullying them, the Swiss would no longer follow our advice with the same confidence which they have apparently shown.

. . . . . .

I have just received your two letters and despatches. I have known Persigny long and well. He is a most fearless fellow, but the essence of vanity and a great *pérorateur*. Formerly, by flattery and piquing his vanity in assuming his ignorance, anything could be extracted. He is now, perhaps, more cautious by experience,

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but only a year ago, by applying the above medicine, I relieved him of every word of his famous conversation with Changarnier an hour after it had taken place, and all he had done and not done at Berlin. The President knows he is faithful, but does not think more of his steadiness than I do. Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

March 11th.—Our Cabinet is now formed, and consists of the following:—

Premier	Lord Derby
Lord Chancellor . . .	Lord St. Leonards
Lord President of the Council	Lord Lonsdale
Lord Privy Seal . . .	Lord Salisbury
Foreign Secretary . . .	Lord Malmesbury
Home Secretary . . .	Mr. Walpole
Colonial Secretary . .	Sir J. Pakington
War Office	Colonel Peel
Navy	Duke of Northumberland
Woods and Forests . .	Lord John Manners
Post Office	Lord Hardwicke
Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons	Mr. Disraeli

The only men who have ever held office before are Lord Derby and Lord Lonsdale; and the country is to a certain degree anxious as to a Government composed of men so inexperienced in public business. The Opposition papers are loud in their abuse of us personally, to an amount of scurrility that does them no honour. With regard to myself, I get a good share of their epigrams and insults, but I thought all this natural enough under the peculiar circumstances, and have cared little for it, until I found out that the most bitter and disparaging articles were written by Sidney Herbert and Lord Lincoln, both of whom have been for years

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my most intimate and 'familiar friends,'[1] and I confess their anonymous and treacherous warfare gives me great pain; but such are politics, destructive of all the gentler sentiments between man and man. Lord Palmerston, who had been the ward of the first Lord Malmesbury, and had always maintained the most constant friendship with my family, knowing that I was inexperienced in official life, and that I must have considerable difficulty in managing so high and important a charge as that of the Foreign Office, kindly offered to call on me and give me some advice upon the main principles of our English policy with foreign countries. Of course, I gratefully accepted his offer, and he came to my house in Whitehall Gardens, giving me a masterly sketch of the *status quo* in Europe, and some general hints as to my procedure. The pith of them was 'to keep well with France;' but adding, 'that she was ambitious to have the principal influence in the East, and that in this respect we were "like two men in love with the same woman."' He said, 'You have no idea till you know more of your office what a power of *prestige* England possesses abroad, and it will be your first duty to see that it does not wane. All the Foreign Ministers will try at first to get objects which they have been refused by successive Governments; so take care you yield nothing until you have well looked into every side of the question. When the *diplomates* call, do not be too reserved, but preface your observations by stating that what you say is *officious*.' He said, that of course being unaccustomed to this sort of work—namely, reading a number of papers and answering or taking note of them—they must cost me more time and labour than they did him, but that the advantage I had

[1] These two had set up a paper of their own, the *Morning Chronicle*, by which they eventually lost a great deal of money.

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was in having young eyes, as he suffered much from his sight. He recommended me to insist on all official correspondence being written in a plain hand with proper intervals between the lines, and he mentioned some Ministers who were quite illegible. On the subject of appointments abroad he said, satirically, 'You will be struck with a very curious circumstance—namely, that "no climate agrees with an English diplomatist excepting that of Paris, Florence, or Naples!"' He said that the advent of Louis Napoleon to power was a good thing for France, and, from the extraordinary figures of the *plébiscite*, proved she was weary both of Bourbons and lawyers; but that, as it was quite possible that his tendencies might be to avenge his uncle's fate, we must turn all our attention to strengthening our national defences both by forts and an increase of armaments. This is also the ruling feeling at Court and throughout the country, as the long rule of the Whigs has let down all the defensive powers of Great Britain. If in 1840 Thiers had had his way, and France had gone to war with us, we should have been totally unprepared, even in our navy.

After this interview, I called by appointment on the Duke of Wellington, whom, being Lord-Lieutenant of my county, and having often seen him respecting the yeomanry, &c., I knew very well. His advice was much the same as Lord Palmerston's. He had a bad opinion of the Emperor Nicholas's character for sincerity, and said there was much in him of 'the Greek of the Lower Empire.' He wound up as I was going out, 'Mind you keep well with France, as that is a most important object for us; but be careful as to this new change of dynasty. I don't believe Louis Napoleon will ever go to war with us if he can help it, but he must keep up his popularity, and then God knows what he may do.'

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He urged me to press on Lord Derby the increase of our armaments by sea and land. We talked as above in a small room, sitting in the middle of it, on two board chairs (the only ones) just opposite each other. He was very deaf, and therefore spoke louder than he used to do.

Lord Derby had appointed his son, Edward Stanley, as my Under Secretary, but as he was in India for his pleasure, I was without anyone whom I knew, and this made my position more difficult. I received, however, the most cordial assistance from the Permanent Under Secretary, Mr. Addington (who was a Tory and had been our Minister at Washington), from the moment I entered the Foreign Office. The chief of the clerks was Mr. Hammond, a very strong partisan on the other side. All the staff were kindly disposed, but I could see that they expected me to give them much trouble, and to ask their advice. They were surprised to see how I knew the routine work, and all the *verbiage* of the profession, as I did thoroughly, from having in 1844 published the Memoirs, State Papers, and Correspondence of my grandfather, the first Earl. For two years I was employed in reading not only his public despatches to Ministers at home, but also to his brother diplomatists abroad. I went through above 2,000 of these, embracing the period between 1768 and 1809, as if I had been an Under Secretary at the Foreign Office for forty years, arranging and collating them, and investigating their contemporary history.

I shall have, therefore, no difficulty in expounding our policy to our diplomatists abroad, and to foreign ones in London, as soon as our Cabinet has fixed it. I owe much to the Queen and the Prince, who, in the kindest and most gracious manner, give me a great deal of private information of which I could know nothing as to foreign,

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especially German, Courts. Lord Granville and I had been friends, as my grandfather and his father were before us, the latter having served with Lord Malmesbury in his missions. He called on me, as is usual, to explain the *status quo* of foreign affairs. The pressing questions are—treatment of political refugees and French demands on Switzerland to expel them; the claims of Prussia on Neufchâtel; the claim of Abbas in Egypt, of power of life and death refused by the Sultan; the treaty settling the Greek and Danish Crowns; but, above all, the great uncertainty of Louis Napoleon's intentions as to his policy, and making himself Emperor. Rome and Modena had sent notes, suggested by Austria, through Count Buol, demanding the extradition of their refugees, which Lord Granville met by throwing them after him when he went out of the room; and this was my first diplomatic interview with Buol, who was raving against England and Granville. He behaved in the most coarse and insolent manner when I refused to receive the notes which he presented, and to such a degree, that I at last asked him if he was accustomed to speak to English Ministers in that style; because I must tell him at once that I would not bear it, and should inform his Court of his violence. He then left the room.

Soon after, Prince Schwarzenberg came into power, recalled Buol, and repudiated his demands respecting refugees, expressing as strongly as possible his pleasure at our party coming into office, and his wishes for our good understanding. Turgot is Minister for Foreign Affairs for France, Walewski Ambassador to England.

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Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris, on opening the River Plate.

Foreign Office: March 16, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,—I have only time to request you to discover how far the French Government would be prepared to go hand in hand with us in trying to persuade the South American States to open the rivers Parana and Uruguay to us on free-trade principles. We must try to get America to join with us in this great plan, which (now that Rosas is defeated and an exile) may, I hope, be accomplished. We should probably send a special mission to negotiate this, and arrange, if possible, the Brazilian loan.

. . . . . .

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

March 17th.—Our immemorial Cabinet dinner was at Lord Lonsdale's. Each of us gives one on a Wednesday.[1] Lord Ossulston beat Sir George Grey for Northumberland, and came in with Lord Lovaine. Saw Lady Derby, who wishes Lady Malmesbury to present Princess Edward of Saxe-Weimar at the Drawing-room as Countess of Dornberg. The Prince and the Richmond family hope she will be allowed the title of Princess by courtesy in society. Lady Derby begged Lady Malmesbury to send them an invitation to her party next Saturday, giving her the title of Princess, which she did.

Lord M. to Lord Bloomfield, H.M. Ambassador at Berlin, on the Danish Succession and the Treaty of London of 1852.

Foreign Office: March 18, 1852.

Dear Lord Bloomfield,—Referring to your conversation with M. Manteuffel upon the contingencies dependent upon a French invasion of Belgium, I have only to say that your language was

[1] Until the next Administration, the Cabinet always had dinners once a week, giving them by turns, and it was at one of these, always held on Wednesday, that Thistlewood and his gang meant to murder the Ministers.

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exactly what Her Majesty's Government wishes to be held on that subject. You must take care that there is no such *secret understanding* as to fetter our discretion as to the extent or even character of our interference in a supposed case, which at present appears very improbable. We are not disposed to enter into any offensive and defensive alliances, although we shall readily acknowledge our responsibility as laid down by treaties.

If the President ever contemplated an invasion of Belgium, he has, I think, relinquished the idea for the present, being made aware that from no quarter will he receive encouragement, but probably resistance from every Power of consequence in Europe.

You will be glad to hear that all our wrangles with Austria are terminated, and that we have received a most friendly note from Prince Schwarzenberg.

The Swiss question is softening down, and the only really very important point now is the speedy signature of the agreement for the Danish Succession. You will, I hope, use all your influence at Berlin to show the King that the Duke of Augustenberg only delays his assent to the indemnity from a foolish hope that a row may take place somewhere and somehow amongst the Five Powers, and that in the scuffle he may get something more. It would be very desirable for the King of Prussia to make him understand that the only chance he runs is that of losing the terms now offered him by further delays.

I also wish you to induce M. Manteuffel to write to M. Bunsen instructions to join us in signing the agreement on the Danish Succession. M. Brünnow has full powers to do so, and is anxious to terminate this business at so favourable a moment; so is France; and I conclude that Austria would follow Prussia in the move.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Mr. Crampton, H.M. Minister at Washington.

Foreign Office: March 26, 1852.

My dear Sir,—I send you the copy of a despatch I have written to Lord Cowley, which will inform you of the intention of Her Majesty's Government to send a special mission to Buenos Ayres with the object of obtaining as free a use as possible of the great tributaries to the Plata. It is the wish of Her Majesty's Government that you should mention this fact to the Government of the

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United States, stating at the same time that we desire no commercial advantages for ourselves in particular, but are only anxious that the whole world should profit by any liberal policy which the Argentine Confederation may be induced to adopt. Lord Derby has already spoken on the subject to Mr. Lawrence here, who, I believe, has informed his Government of that conversation. We have reason to believe that the Government of the United States will receive the information with favour; but if you should find any dissatisfaction expressed at our not having invited it to join with us and France in this mission, you will account for the fact by representing that our success depends upon the most rapid movements, and that no time was left to put ourselves in communication with the United States, and to receive a reply. Should any questions be asked you respecting our primary proposals, you will not fail to state that we can only demand the opening of the Parana as a privilege to be obtained by negotiation and not as a right.

You will at once see how this point touches our rights to the navigation of the St. Lawrence, and the importance of our not appearing to hold different principles on different sides of the Equator.

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Your obedient servant,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: March 26, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,—

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I have always held to Walewski the same language, that we would give that 'advice to the Swiss Government which was consonant with their interests without compromising their independence.' Walewski, after having described to me the ultimatum of France, *asked me* to communicate it privately to Magennis, and to instruct him to let the Federal Government know how they could settle the matter. He repeatedly said the demands upon future refugees would not be pressed, and *never had been* intended, and made use of the expression, 'L'avenir appartient à tout le monde.'

Your language to M. de Turgot should still be in the words I have quoted above as used by me. If the Executive of the Federal Government has, by its own laws, the power of expelling foreigners

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deemed dangerous to the State, their doing so at the request of France is a question of opinion and justice on the part of the Executive, and not a breach of constitutional law and liberty. Thus Dr. Fürrer may, if not afraid of the Opposition party, *exiler et interner* whom he pleases without sacrificing Swiss rights.

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Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Sir Hamilton Seymour, H.M. Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Foreign Office: March 29, 1852.

My dear Sir Hamilton,—Notwithstanding the impression which you appear to have that the Prince President has relinquished his anxiety to possess the title of Emperor, I confess I do not feel the least convinced that any change has taken place in his ambitious intentions. I have known him personally for many years, and I can answer for the most remarkable feature in his character being an obstinacy of intention, which, as it is maintained on all subjects with an unruffled temper, is held to the last against all opposition. All projects once formed and matured in his head remain there perfectly uncommunicated in detail, but their practical attempts or fulfilment will be a mere question of time. To be Emperor has been his *marotte* since he was twenty years old, when I recollect his mother used to laugh at him for indulging such a dream. Walewski tells me (on his return from Paris) that the whole army is most eager to crown him. He is universally called 'Altesse Impériale,' and there is good reason for supposing that his mantle is in the hands of the *brodeuses*. I do not, myself, see that any title he may please to assume can seriously influence European or monarchical interests. France has so long desecrated royalty and its prestige upon its own ground, from the time it decapitated Louis XVI. until it elected and banished Louis Philippe, that any of its acts relating to *personal dignities* must be looked upon as a masquerade of mummers. The impression made by these successive actors of royalty upon legal and hereditary titles can only induce a comparison in favour of the latter. As to political consequences, I think the assumption by Louis Napoleon of the Imperial purple would be null, and if not null rather likely to put an end to

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his *velléités*, as it has been his primary object—it *may* be his last —and having obtained all he can obtain, except by force of arms, and being himself no soldier, and jealous of generals, I do not think it unlikely that he will rest quietly at the Tuileries. One object of making himself Emperor is undoubtedly to obtain a royal bride.

These are my ideas, founded on my personal knowledge of the man; but if I am mistaken as to the results of his elevation to the throne, I am not so as to his general character. He certainly entertained formerly the idea of a territorial redistribution of the arrangements of 1815, and you may depend upon it the idea still remains in his brain.

It is, therefore, most necessary that he should be made to feel (of course as civilly as possible) that the great Powers look upon the settlement of 1815 as final. He is much pleased at our invitation to join us in renewing negotiations to open the Plate and its tributaries to the world, and is to send M. St. George in a man-of-war, in company with our envoy, Sir C. Hotham.

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Yours very truly,

MALMESBURY.

April 1st.—Drawing-room. Lady Malmesbury had to present all the wives of the Foreign Ministers.

April 5th.—We dined at the Palace. Queen very gracious to both of us; so was the Prince, by whom Lady Malmesbury sat at dinner. Party: Comte d'Aquila, Duke of Cambridge, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, Carinis, and Brünnow. I was attacked in the House of Lords by Lord Beaumont on the old question of refugees, whom he pretended to suppose I would give up. Prince Schwarzenberg, Prime Minister of Austria, died yesterday, and Count Buol is appointed in his stead. News has been received of the loss of the 'Birkenhead,' large steamer, carrying out troops to the Cape. She was wrecked on a reef not above two or three miles from the shore in Simon's Bay. Above 400 men perished. The courage they showed was wonderful. Not a word was uttered

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or a cry heard till the vessel sunk. All the women and children saved.

Lord M. to Hon. Charles Murray, H.M. Consul in Egypt.

Foreign Office: April 8, 1852.

My dear Murray,—Many thanks for your congratulations and your 'digest' (as Brougham calls it) of the affairs of Egypt. I have seen Layard, Larking,[1] and others of equal experience in travel and business over the East, and I find them all differing as much as your officials do respecting the real practical results likely to occur should the Tanzimat be enforced in Egypt.

I can't form any opinion beyond this, that the two Turks do not look upon it so much as to its effect on their respective populations as on the symbolical importance which the power of life and death gives to a turban.

However this may be, you must consider the Tanzimat as a question of time only, and as passed. Successive Secretaries of State have acknowledged the Sultan's right, nor do I see how it can be denied. Vide the Treaty. This being the case, we must make the best of it now that he seems determined not even to postpone the law, and you must look farther than 1852. The next heir to Egypt is a Frenchman. If Egypt by any act of ours be helped to more independence and power, those advantages *now*, it is true, used *for* England, will then be used *against* her, and if they have been gained at the expense of the Porte's goodwill and political power, we shall have made a seedy bargain. We must look at the Sultan as the most lasting and secure force of the two, and so shape our policy that we shall preserve the use of Egypt for the present, without creating a ready-made dependency of it to France hereafter. You must, therefore, take care not to appear in any degree a partisan of either side, but supply the Pasha with proper arguments, which must be urged without asperity. I consider (and so does Larking) the Commissioners to be so many irritators, and they should go home again. If Canning can't shake the Sultan at Stamboul, nor I his Minister here, I am sure that your Commissioners are more likely to drive him mad than to soothe him and his viziers.

I am grieved to hear from your brother that feuds are not con-

[1] Formerly Consul in Egypt.

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fined to the Turks, but that you, Canning, and Rose are all in hot water. This is most fatal to the interests of your country, which ought to be the first object in the minds of each and all of you, and it is a source of great regret to the Government. Pray, therefore, bury them in oblivion—at least, till you leave the East.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Hon. P. C. Scarlett, H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Florence.

Foreign Office: April 9, 1852.

Dear Mr. Scarlett,—You must if possible get 500*l.* for Mather, or he should have such a sum as would bring him a small annuity. That is what he would have got in England. As a last resource, you might ask for arbitration.

I send you Prince Schwarzenberg's letter, which is satisfactory in a national sense, but is not enough as regards the Tuscans, who close their courts of justice to us.

Of course you must not talk of an apology from the officer, as it would be *bathos* after we have got Schwarzenberg's note. Two days before his death he told Lord Westmoreland that Tuscany ought to have allowed Mather to plead in a civil court.[1]

I hope you will have the credit of doing this before Bulwer arrives.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lord Westmoreland.

Heron Court: April 10, 1852.

Dear Lord Westmoreland,—We first heard of Prince Schwarzenberg's death on Tuesday at three o'clock, by the submarine telegraph. He must have died at the very moment we were debating on his correspondence in the House of Lords. We are of course anxious to know who will be his successor, and are now under the impression (given by himself) that Buol will be the man. When he left me at the Palace, where I took him to make his parting bow, he was very civil, which has not always been the case. He

[1] Mr. Mather refused to make way for an Austrian detachment at Florence, pushing his way into the band, upon which an officer wounded him by a sabre cut. *Hinc illæ lacrymæ.*

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took a strong view against Mather's case, and argued that the Austrian army was one of occupation. It is not so, but an auxiliary army. But were it even an army of occupation, that is no reason Tuscany should close her civil courts. The Duke of Wellington says the Portuguese courts were open the whole time of his occupation and whilst the war was raging, and that his soldiers were amenable to them.

Bulwer goes to Florence about the 20th, by which time I hope Scarlett will have got 500*l.* for Mather, which is about what an English jury would have given. Buol almost promised to use his influence with Austria to induce Tuscany to do this. If she refuses, we shall withdraw our mission. We have nothing but worry from this trumpery little Court, and I am sorry to say till now the only other that has followed this same course is your Imperial one. In Rome, where there are ten times as many English, and a French army, nothing of the sort happens. In France, where John Bull is everywhere seen in all his varieties, not a dispute ever occurs; and although I know some of my countrymen abroad are eccentric fellows, I think you may in proper place and season observe on this monopoly of vexations which Austria and its dependencies have upon them.

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Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador in Paris.

Heron Court: April 11, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,— . . . Sir H. Seymour's private letters speak of the Emperor Nicholas's fixed purpose to stand by the treaties, and to look upon any march into Belgium as a *casus belli*. I quite agree with every word you said to Addington about Buol, who, however, was extremely civil to me before he went away. I presented him on his departure, and he spoke to me a long time at the Palace on the subject of Louis Napoleon's possible aggression, stating that there could be but one policy for Russia, Austria, and Prussia—viz. to oppose a wall to him which would be impenetrable; but he never will get over Granville's shying the 'note' after him as he went out.

The Swiss note you sent me last bored me quite as much as it did Turgot. No wonder they were so longer transcribing it for

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Magennis. I look upon that cloud [1] as nearly dissipated, and I am sincerely obliged to you for the handy way you have managed the question with Barman and Turgot. Magennis did well as soon as he got to Berne.

I can't help thinking the peril of exercising the Tanzimat in Egypt has been exaggerated. However that may be, the Sultan, who looks upon it as a symbol of dominion, refuses to give way. But I have written to Sir Stratford Canning to try a middle course, and to get the power of life and death continued to the Pasha for murder, or for murder and robbery, till the rail is finished to Alexandria. Nesselrode proposed the same thing to Seymour, so I have pressed it there, and I wish you would tell Kisseleff that if the Court of Russia wishes to please us, it would recommend a delay of the Tanzimat, or a partial adaptation of it, until the work is complete. Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lord Westmoreland, H.M. Ambassador at Vienna.

Foreign Office: April 20, 1852.

Dear Lord Westmoreland,—I shall be much obliged to you to convey (at the proper time and place) to the Emperor the sympathy which Her Majesty's Government feel for him personally in the loss of a servant to whom he was so attached as to Prince Schwarzenberg.

We trust that the return of friendly feelings which he had evinced towards England before his death will be continued to us by his successor, and we hope that he has passed sufficient time in England to understand the somewhat anomalous co-existence of great license and great order which is incomprehensible to foreigners who have not resided here.

You will have got my despatch on the Turkish affair, and I depend upon you to prevail on Austria to join us in recommending a *terme moyen* to the Porte respecting the law of capital punishment, and to oppose any attempts to change the Viceroy of Egypt. The next heir is French by habits and education, and although we entirely admit the right of the Sultan to exercise the Tanzimat in Egypt, we could not, as one of the Powers who signed the settlement of 1841, agree to his changing the succession to the

[1] The French claims against the refugees in Switzerland.

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Viceroyalty for no better reason than the remonstrance of his vassal against altering a law which he thinks would render life and property unsafe in his province.

Another question I trust you will urge to a termination is the Danish succession. Russia wishes some alteration in the *projet de convention* as it was presented by Denmark, to which we see no objection, but we must resist all question of its being referred to the Diet. Austria and Prussia can answer for Germany as far as they go, and if we go to other States the affair will never be ended.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lieut.-Col. Rose,[1] *H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Constantinople.*

Foreign Office: April 21, 1852.

My dear Rose,—I write you a line in answer to your letter to say that, although we receive the most contradictory accounts of the practical effect of the Tanzimat as a question of police, we are disposed to concur with you and Murray, that its exercise in Egypt would endanger our commerce and countrymen. Be that as it may, you must abstract your mind from local prejudices and look *ahead*. It is not our policy to make Egypt independent, even if we cared, against all principle, to break through the settlement of 1841. It is there distinctly stated that the Sultan can exercise the laws he pleases, and the last article declares that, if the Pasha does not adhere to the terms of the treaty, he forfeits his Pashalic. But I repeat, it is not our policy to make him independent of the Sultan, because he may die any day and a French Pasha succeed, when our want of faith and selfishness would turn against us. It is our interest to maintain the solidarity of the Turkish Empire, but to use the Pasha as an instrument more capable and calculated to keep the road to India safe than his distant master. You must not run one against the other, nor give an excuse to the Sultan to degrade his vassal. If the Sultan is obstinate about the Tanzimat, Abbas must obey, but the Sultan will have to stand the consequences if English property is not protected.

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Ever yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

[1] Afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn.

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April 21st.—I went to the Levée. French insist on Switzerland giving up Socialist refugees, and King of Prussia on having Neufchâtel, as under the treaties of 1815. This cannot now be done without a war.

April 27th.—Our Militia Bill carried by majority of 150. Many Peelites and Whigs voted with us.

April 28th.—Government had a majority of 53 last night against 10*l.* franchise for counties.

Lord M. to Hon. P. C. Scarlett, H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Florence.

Foreign Office: April 27, 1852.

Dear Mr. Scarlett,—Sir Henry Bulwer will start to-morrow for Florence, notwithstanding the crisis you describe as going on in the Tuscan Court. I am still in hopes that you will settle the Mather compensation, by arbitration or otherwise, before he arrives, and I see no reason why you should not push it on before the present Government is turned out. It appears to me that the next, being utterly bigoted, would be still more intractable, and not care if our mission at Florence were to be closed—nay, might rather desire it.

Lord Westmoreland has sent me an offer from Count Buol, to refer the case of compensation to Mr. Mather to the Emperor if we fail in Tuscany, where he states that Austria has given a voice in favour of our claim. I am, however, unwilling to accept Count Buol's proposal further than to ask him to give his good offices privately to us, and recommend such payment as Mr. Mather would be allowed by an English court of justice. He and the Tuscan Government must settle the question of who is to be the loser between them; but we who have never treated the matter officially with Austria, but insisted on the responsibility of Tuscany as an independent State, cannot accept the money from Austria for Tuscany.

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Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

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May 1*st*.—Dined at the Royal Academy. Disraeli's speech on introducing his Budget has produced a bad effect in the country, for the farmers, though reconciled to giving up Protection, expected some relief in other ways, and he does not give a hint at any measure for their advantage. I fear this will tell at the next election. Lord Derby is much annoyed. I expect we shall be turned out before December.

May 5*th*.—Crowded ball at the Palace. Persigny, at Paris, has been blustering to Madame de Lieven about war and empire, which will all go to Nicholas.

Lord M. to Lord Bloomfield, H.M. Ambassador at Berlin.

Foreign Office: May 10, 1852.

My dear Lord Bloomfield,—You will have been as glad as any one to hear that the Danish Convention was signed on Saturday, by *all* the plenipos. Bunsen refused to do so the day before (which would have been a matter of convenience to the Ministers invited to the Chiswick *fête* on Saturday) 'because his seal was at the engraver's.'

This act and puerile excuse have rendered him still more unpopular than he was with his colleagues. I should like to know whether he expected some further instructions by the telegraph on Saturday morning. As it was, he made no mention of reference to the Diet at the Conference, but only suggested to me privately that the Convention when signed should be so referred; but I replied, I should object to *that* until *after* the ratifications, when according to one of its articles it would be submitted to the other Powers for adhesion. You will see that I instruct you in a despatch sent by this messenger to ascertain whether Bunsen really has had recent orders to catechise me respecting an absurd incendiary proclamation printed in London seven months ago. A week before Granville went out of office he put the same questions to him regarding this document, which he did not condescend to answer.

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Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

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May 11th.—Disraeli moved to bring in a bill to appropriate the four seats vacant by a disfranchisement of Sudbury and St. Albans, and proposed to give two additional members to the West Riding and two to South Lancashire. Mr. Gladstone moved the order of the day as an amendment. I think this will do us more good than harm with the country. I hear that the review at Paris on the 10th went off very well. I had an audience of the Queen yesterday. She asked me if Lady Tankerville had gone to Paris for the review, expressing wonder that any one should do so. I told her Majesty that she had gone to see the Gramonts. At the opera of 'Il Flauto Magico,' the hero of the piece was Ronconi as Papagallo, dressed all in feathers. He has added to his costume a crest of red ones, which by some contrivance he occasionally raised upright, as cockatoos do when pleased or surprised. He tried this piece of buffoonery whenever he was applauded, and made the whole house roar with laughter.

May 12th.—My turn to give the Cabinet dinner.

May 14th.—Lord and Lady Ossulston just returned from Paris. They were invited to the *fêtes* at the Tuileries, but the string was so long that they returned home. No cheering from the mob, only from the soldiers. Lord Cowley was hissed for using his privilege of cutting into the string, and Lord Alfred Paget, who was with him, shared his treatment. A great many arrests made in Paris.

May 20th.—We went this evening to the Walewskis, who had a French play, 'Brutus lâche César,' acted to perfection by Rose Chéri, Lafond, and Léon.

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May 21st.—My Under-Secretary, Lord Stanley, arrived this morning from India. Dined with the Castlereaghs.

Lord M. to Lord Bloomfield, H.M. Ambassador at Berlin.

Foreign Office: May 22, 1852.

My dear Lord Bloomfield,—Bunsen has called upon me to beg you will explain to the King that Manteuffel was quite right in not pressing a reference of the Danish Convention to the Diet upon the six Powers at the time of their signing it. Bunsen informs me that Manteuffel was ordered by the King to instruct him to make the demand, and put it in the shape of a note; and I recollect that you also gave me notice that such was the case before Bunsen received his full powers. He furthermore declared that Manteuffel never gave him the order. Be this as it may, it is certain that none of the Powers would have recognised the right of the Diet to interfere, and I told Bunsen that I was ready to argue this point, and that if he persisted, we would sign without him.

I should be glad, if it is necessary, that you should set Manteuffel right with the King, who, had he brought the question of the 'right of the Diet' before the six Powers on this occasion, would have obliged them on a public and solemn occasion to vote against his opinion. His Minister, therefore, served him well in not acting so indiscreetly as to do so.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

May 24th.—Kept until past ten in the House of Lords. Government beaten in the Commons on Mr. Duncombe's amendment on the Bribery Bill, proposing to extend its provisions to counties. My brother voted against the Government.

The French Senate refuse to part with the Crown jewels until the President marries. He says, 'Je ne suis pas pressé.'

Lady Malmesbury gave a party at the Foreign Office. The Opposition had spread a report that the staircase was not

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safe, which they might have said with more truth of the rest of the house, as a few days after my appointment the ceiling came down upon the table at which I wrote, and would have killed me if I had been there.

May 28th.—I fear this business of Mr. Mather at Florence will give me a great deal of trouble, as Mather *père* is furious at only obtaining 250*l.* for the injury done to his son's head, his first demand being 5,000*l.* The latter gentleman chose to stand in the way of a body of Austrian soldiers marching through the street with their band, and refused to move, on which the officer commanding struck him with his sword, and cut his head open, though not dangerously. I took up the affair, and claimed compensation from the Tuscan Government, as it was very important in a political sense that we should establish the fact of the independence of Tuscany, although occupied by Austrian troops. Mr. Scarlett, who was *Chargé d'Affaires* in Bulwer's absence, was ordered not to accept less than 500*l.*, and disobeyed his instructions. The Opposition, in view of the coming elections, are making capital of this and other freaks of travelling Englishmen who get themselves into scrapes abroad, and, being often deservedly punished or arrested, call upon their Government for protection. This conduct on their part is very much due to a blustering speech made some time ago by Lord Palmerston, declaring that John Bull, wherever he was, or whatever he did, was to be as sacred as the ancient 'civis Romanus.'

May 29th.—Mr. Scarlett, besides accepting half the *minimum*, did so as a generous act of charity on the part of the Grand Duke, instead of a compensation due to the

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injured Englishman. I have written a strong remonstrance to Sir Henry Bulwer against Mr. Scarlett's acceptance of the money, and his still worse abandonment of the important point of responsibility of Tuscany as an independent State, declaring that unless they admit that it is for the injury inflicted, we shall withdraw our Minister from Florence. I suspect Mr. Scarlett did so from anxiety to have the credit of concluding the business anyhow before the return of Sir Henry Bulwer.

June 1st.—The Tribunal de Première Instance has decided against the President on the Orleans decrees. He was asked about that, but is not at all annoyed, and among other subjects told my informant, 'Tenez! en cherchant dans un journal que j'ai écrit en Suisse j'ai trouvé ce passage: "Je suis né pour rendre le bonheur à la France et les Aigles à l'armée; le reste sont des bagatelles."' His journey to that wretched district La Sologne has made him very popular, and induced people to hope that he will abandon the sword for the plough and the trowel. He is much perplexed, as he is averse to marriage, and yet feels that none of the Bonaparte family are fit to succeed him, and could not maintain an imperial dynasty. Jerome and his son lose no opportunity of annoying and crossing the President's views. He despises but fears them. Persigny marries Marshal Ney's granddaughter.

June 2nd.—Dined with the Walewskis, and thence to the Duchess of Gloucester, then back again to the Walewskis. Turgot is very unmanageable on the Tanzimat, and unwilling to give the Pasha of Egypt the power of life and death over criminals, thereby supporting the Sultan.

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Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: June 3, 1852.

Dear Lord Cowley,—

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Walewski spoke to me about the affair of the 'Charlemagne.' Look at the Treaty July 13, 1841, arts. I. and XI. The latter gives permission to the Sultan to let 'light vessels' up the Dardanelles, which certainly does not apply to the 'Charlemagne.' You will see by Lord Stratford's despatch that he gave no advice, but I have no objection to your saying that the Treaty is so clear that the French Admiral exposed his Government to awkward remonstrances by either asking for the Firman or accepting a promise of it, and that I conclude he did not know how stringent the Treaty is. The eyes of Europe are so attentively fixed on the President to observe how he respects conventions that he should avoid all appearance of encroachment.[1]

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Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

June 3rd.—Drawing-room. Dined with Lady Ailesbury. Heard an amusing account of a dinner given by the Douglases at Paris, to introduce the President to Madame de Lieven. It was diamond cut diamond, and she admitted that she could make nothing of him.

June 4th.—Queen's concert. Lord Cowley at Paris considers the Empire as settled in the mind of the President. He has dismissed his mistress, Mrs. Howard, after giving her the title of Comtesse de Beauregard.

[1] The Treaties with the Porte forbade ships of war like the 'Charlemagne' which carried M. de Lavalette to go up the Bosphorus.

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Lord M. to Lord Westmoreland, H.M. Ambassador at Vienna.

Foreign Office: June 8, 1852.

Dear Lord Westmoreland,—

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The Mather case has reached a very disagreeable crisis.[1] I send you the papers, and you will see by my last two despatches to Bulwer how the matter stands.

Pray tell Buol that it was impossible for us to accept such a note as Casigliano's of the 10th ult.—not a word of regret or good feeling, but an insulting assertion that he paid the money from charity, and that Mather had no right either to protection as an English subject or to reparation for the assault. If the Austrians are not liable to be tried by the Tuscan Civil Courts, we must have an admission from the Tuscan Government that the Executive in Tuscany will protect and adjudicate for English plaintiffs and afterwards settle with Vienna. We have otherwise no place of appeal, but are bandied from one to the other, each refusing responsibility, or Austria asserting jurisdiction in Tuscany and suppressing entirely her character of independence.

I attribute Scarlett's spontaneous offer to abandon the spirit and letter of his instructions to illness.

The Queen received Colloredo immediately and just before she went to Windsor. Make the most of this, which really was very gracious and well-judged of Her Majesty.

Yours very truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to James Hudson, Esq., H.M. Minister at Turin.

Foreign Office: June 8, 1852.

My dear Mr. Hudson,—M. d'Azeglio's conduct respecting the Editor of the 'Opinione' is only one of a thousand proofs that the ablest foreigner can never perfectly apprehend the principles of constitutional liberty. To banish a man for abusing the Austrians would deservedly have forfeited his position. You should, if possible, make him understand that as for their own interests the proprietors of journals must take different sides, he should have

[1] Mr. Scarlett had accepted 200*l.* only, and that as a charitable gift. His instructions were to insist on 500*l.* as the minimum.

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sufficient authority established in whatever newspaper supports the Government to reply to or denounce therein any attack upon his colleagues or foreign allies. When Buol spoke to Lord Westmoreland on the subject and referred to me, that is what I stated to be the total of what Buol could expect to get, and he told Lord Westmoreland that he was satisfied with my opinion.

In my speech to which you and M. d'Azeglio refer I did not at all exaggerate my admiration of the conduct and results of the King and his Ministers since 1849. From all you say I fear these fair promises will not bring permanent liberty to Sardinia or any part of Italy, but it is our interest and duty to give at least all the moral force we possess to assist this constitutional monarchy in its development. You do not say who is to be 'Le Roi du Royaume d'Italie.'

. . . . . .

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

June 9th.—We went to Windsor. Party consists of Cambridges, &c. A ball in the evening. The Queen danced a great deal, and ended with 'La Tempête,' a sort of English country dance.

June 10th.—Ascot races. Dined again in St. George's Hall. Ball till one o'clock.

Lord M. to Hon. P. C. Scarlett, H.M. Chargé d'Affaires at Florence.

Foreign Office: June 12, 1852.

My dear Mr. Scarlett,—I have just received your letter explaining all the difficulties you had to contend with in the Mather case, and your reasons for making the arrangements the Government felt it their painful duty to disavow. We are convinced that it was from no relaxation of the activity which you have uniformly shown during this harassing business that you brought it to a close so unsatisfactory to them, but that you considered the re-establishment of friendly relations with Tuscany and the liberation of the Stratfords as objects superior to a literal compliance with your

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instructions. It was, however, quite impossible for Her Majesty's Government to forego the important, nay, paramount principle of Tuscan responsibility either through her Courts or Executive, and equally impossible to accept the note M. de Casigliano, which treated the payment as an eleemosynary gift instead of a just reparation, whilst not a single expression of amity or regret was added. It was, I assure you, a source of sincere regret to me that I should be obliged to disapprove publicly of your act, but I stated as publicly that it could only be attributed to an error of judgment.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

June 15th.—Lord John Russell brought forward the Mather case, and made a very violent speech. Disraeli's answer good. Opposition papers abused me, and take the unexpected line that redress ought to have been demanded from Austria. If I had done so, I should have been accused of sacrificing the liberties of Italian States to the despotism of Austria. But the whole thing is got up for the coming elections.

June 16th.—Our Militia Bill passed second reading last night in the House of Lords. The President wants Napoleon's will sent to Paris.

June 18th.—Lord Derby showed me his list for the elections, giving us a majority, but I don't believe it.

June 21st. — Lady Malmesbury embarked for Ems. Debate on Mather's case went off well in Commons. Parliament is to be dissolved on July 2.

Lord M. to A. Buchanan, Esq., H.M. Minister at Berne.

Foreign Office: June 28, 1852.

Dear Mr. Buchanan,—I have had some conversations with Count Walewski on the Neufchâtel question. Our object is to put

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aside the subject, and to prevent the King of Prussia making an imprudent demonstration. You will see that the Protocol states we are to consider the best *time* for a Conference. We have not done that yet, and we shall not take this primary step at present. If, however, the Swiss could devise some method of settling the business it would be desirable. I have repeated assurances that France would never suffer armed intervention, and I need not tell you Her Majesty's Government would be equally averse to it. The Swiss must know this from all I did this year to settle their dispute with Louis Napoleon.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Sir H. Bulwer, H.M. Minister at Florence.

Foreign Office: July 2, 1852.

My dear Bulwer,—I send you an official despatch, which I wrote some time ago to Freeborn,[1] as being the only instructions the Government could give then and repeat now with respect to Mr. Murray's case. If he has been tried by the laws of the country in which he was living and actually serving, we cannot interfere by menace, but we must appeal to the friendly feelings of Rome and make the most of his long imprisonment to save his life. I showed your note, asking what language you should hold, to Lord Derby, who agreed with me that a conciliatory tone was most likely to prevail in Murray's favour, but that, as you had better means of judging than we have, we must leave it to your discretion.

Murray's case can never be one authorising us to use force, which is another reason for adopting the language of argument. Pray send Mr. Barron to Berlin immediately.

The House of Commons cheered you handsomely *re* Mather.

Yours truly,
MALMESBURY.

July 17th.—Lords Stratford, Howden, and Palmerston, &c., dined with me.

[1] British Consul at Rome.

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Lord M. to Sir H. Bulwer, H.M. Minister at Florence.

Foreign Office: July 19, 1852.

My dear Bulwer,—Your correspondence with the Duke of Casigliano was sent by him to Vienna, and has brought a note here which shows that the Austrian Government does not at all relish the principle of Tuscan responsibility which you obliged the Duke to admit. The note which Colloredo was instructed to read to me was written in a spirit which I do not at all like, not only because the interpretation given to it by Colloredo was that treaties overrode international law, but I see in every word an intention to hold Tuscany and reduce it to the state of Modena and Parma. Against such a consummation it will be your duty and your glory to struggle.

I believe the Tuscans always have been wise enough to resist all financial incorporation with Austria. Keep them hard to that resolution.

Your first despatches gave reason to hope that Tuscany was anxious to get rid of its incubus, and to hire foreign troops. Is it still so? I do not think an Irish Legion would do, as it would create jealousy, but a Foreign Legion of Irish, Swiss, &c., might. I admit that Austrian and French are necessary in the Papal States to prevent anarchy, but that is not the case in Tuscany. Cannot you make the Grand Duke see this?

Since I wrote the above I have heard from Hudson. In case he should have omitted giving you any information from his agent at Rome (I have begged him to do so), I advise you that the Pope is supposed to be rather friendly than otherwise to our Government, but that Irish influence and Jesuitism are strongly working at him against us, and that (as formerly) Lord Shrewsbury is the tool. It would not, however, appear difficult to persuade his Holiness that the peace of Europe, and consequently of Italy, depends not a little on a Conservative policy. Hudson's account so far tallies with yours and confirms its correctness.

I am very glad to hear you are getting better. The elections are nearly over, and we have got 310 Derbyites in. *Reste à voir* whether with 40 doubtful we can drive on.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

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July 26th.—Lord Ossulston has won his election for Northumberland, beating Sir George Grey by 35.

July 27th.—Elections look bad. I don't think we shall muster above 300 Derbyites. Went to Osborne to present Duke of Oldenburg. Hope the Queen will send a steamer, so that we may not have to swim and run as we did the other day when I went with Lords Stratford and Howden. We arrived in the royal presence as if we had been snipe shooting.

August 11th.—Our dispute with America about the fisheries will be settled very well if there is no fighting amongst the fishermen.

Mr. Disraeli, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Lord M.

Hughenden: August 13, 1852.

My dear M.,—I return you Lord Cowley's confidential despatch. I am not disposed to reduce our duties on French brandies to obtain a reduction of their duties on our coals. We had better leave our mutual tariffs as they stand, unless the French are willing to treat these matters on a much more extensive scale. If they would reduce their duties on linen, yarn, cottons, or iron, I should recommend our meeting them with reductions on their brandies and silks. The latter would be a great card for France. We ought now to be for as complete free trade as we can obtain, and let the English farmer, and the English landlord too, buy the best and the cheapest silks for their wives and daughters.

In case anything is to be done in this respect, it should be done with as little knowledge by the Board of Trade as practicable. That office is filled with our enemies. Lord Cowley, therefore, should conduct the business entirely; or we should send some confidential and circumspect agent of our own.

It is useless now to vex ourselves about the Protectionist rock ahead. If this section exist, it can do nothing until the financial statement is made. Every expression of opinion on their side will

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be suspended until they have heard our financial measures. I confess I have no great fear of them, and I think they and their constituents will be satisfied.

The Fisheries affair is a bad business. Pakington's circular is not written with a thorough knowledge of the circumstances. He is out of his depth, more than three marine miles from shore.

These wretched colonies will all be independent too in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks. If I were you, I would *push matters* with Filmore, who has no interest to pander to the populace like Webster, and make an honourable and speedy settlement.

Yours ever,

D.

Lord Bloomfield, H.M. Ambassador at Berlin, to Lord M.

Berlin: August 16, 1852.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—I have just addressed to your lordship a despatch respecting a dinner party at which I assisted yesterday, given by the French Minister in honour of the President's *fête*.

The Governments of Austria, Prussia, and Russia have acted closely together on this question, as they will do on every one concerning their general foreign policy; and in the present instance it is evident that my Russian colleague has been the *cheville ouvrière* in spoiling the French projects at Berlin, and he has done so most successfully; but his game was easy, for he acted before a willing audience.

I trust that I did right in attending the dinner party; and, indeed, I do not know how I could have declined the invitation under the circumstances which your lordship will find related in the despatch. I felt, unimportant as my presence might be, my refusal to attend the invitation would have been extremely uncourteous, and unnecessarily so, towards the Chief of the French Republic; nevertheless, I am anxious to learn the judgment your lordship may pass on my conduct, and I trust at all events on your indulgence in case I should not have acted in exact conformity with your wishes.

All we can say of the French demonstration here is that it was a complete failure, and has only served to draw out the real feeling of this Government, and of its immediate allies, towards Louis Napoleon.

Believe me, &c.

BLOOMFIELD.

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August 18*th.*—Lady Malmesbury returned from Ems without any benefit. I was at a Privy Council at Osborne. Turgot has been superseded as Foreign Minister by Drouyn de l'Huys.

September 1*st.*—The Queen reached Holyrood. I had attended her from Basingstoke. The journey was very prosperous, but we had to post the last forty miles to Balmoral up the Spittal of Glenshee. Nothing can exceed the good nature with which I am treated both by Her Majesty and the Prince. Balmoral is an old country house in bad repair, and totally unfit for royal personages. It was occupied as a shooting lodge by Sir Robert Gordon. The Queen intends building a castle on or near the site. The royal party consists of the Duchess of Kent, the ladies-in-waiting, Colonel Phipps, and Sir Arthur Gordon. The rooms are so small that I was obliged to write my despatches on my bed and to keep the window constantly open to admit the necessary quantity of air, and my private secretary, George Harris, lodged somewhere three miles off. We played at billiards every evening, the Queen and the Duchess being constantly obliged to get up from their chairs to be out of the way of the cues. Nothing could be more cheerful and evidently perfectly happy than the Queen and Prince, or more kind to everybody around them. I never met any man so remarkable for the variety of information on all subjects as the latter, with a great fund of humour *quand il se déboutonne.* They evidently enjoyed to the utmost the beauty and tonic climate of the Highlands. The river Dee, running close to the house, gives excellent salmon fishing, but the deer forest is as yet very small.

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G. Harris, P.S. to Lord M., on his Mission to Prince Louis Napoleon.

20 Jermyn Street: September 2, 1852.

My dear Fitz,—I had my audience of the President on Tuesday evening, the 31st ult., at St. Cloud, and I assure you that in order to obtain it I was obliged to have recourse *aux grands moyens*. Saturday, Sunday, and Monday morning passed away without my receiving any order from his Highness; so on Monday evening I got Stuart, of the Embassy, to give me a private letter of introduction to the aide-de-camp in waiting, and I drove to St. Cloud and had my name put down, the suite—such as General Canrobert, Tascher and Roquet—giving me hopes that in a *week's* time I might be appointed to an audience; whereupon I returned to Paris and called on Mrs. Howard, toadied and flattered her, stating that I was in a great hurry to get back to London, and only wanted to see his Highness the President for two minutes. She sent off an orderly at once, and before night I received an invitation from Louis Napoleon to accompany him out shooting, to say my say at 5.30, and dine afterwards (the next day, the 31st August).

I got off the shooting and dinner, being too ill for either; but in my interview I told him exactly what you desired me to tell him, viz., the *menées* of the refugees at Jersey, their threats of assassination, their general project, and expectations of help from Mazzini and Kossuth, and, in fact, all the pith of Mr. Sanders's reports and General Love's[1] apprehensions, not omitting certain details from reports of the A Division about money and arms; and, finally, letting his Highness know that the Jersey authorities knew what to think of Stoffell and other agents of the French Government.

The President desired me to thank you most cordially for the intelligence, part of which (viz. the refugees' intention of landing and rendezvous in the South, not far from Bayonne and the frontier), he said was quite new to him. He mentioned that that very morning Manteuffel had sent him a warning about the *exilés des Isles Normandes*, that amongst their *projets insensés* they meditated a descent upon the coast of Algeria, where they counted on being able to 'corrupt' two regiments of the line, with which, under Mazzini's orders and inspiration, they were to return to Italy and revolutionize the whole of that country.

[1] Governor of Jersey.

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In fact he laughed, or affected to laugh, at their plans; and said with more seriousness that assassination was the only project in which they had a chance of success.

He seemed to dread the frightful *tournée* in store for him, making the whole circuit of France.

He asked very much about you.

GEORGE HARRIS.

September 4th.—The Prince had a wood driven not far from the house. After we had been posted in line two fine stags passed me, which I missed; Colonel Phipps fired next, and lastly the Prince, without any effect. The Queen had come out to see the sport, lying down in the heather by the Prince, and witnessed all these *fiascos*, to our humiliation.

September 10th.—Left Balmoral for Achnacarry, riding across country part of the way. Whilst I was at Balmoral Colonel Phipps received a telegram from a clergyman, whose name I forget, and who was executor to a Mr. Neale, to say that the latter had left 200,000*l.* to the Queen. Neither Her Majesty nor Phipps would believe that it was not a joke; but I thought otherwise, and on requiring further information it proved to be correct. The Queen immediately declared that if he had any relations she would not accept it, but it finally appeared that he had none.

Lord Derby to Lord M. on the American Fisheries.

Balmoral: September 15, 1852.

My dear Malmesbury,—I send you an interesting letter received this morning from Sir G. Seymour[1] to the Duke of Northumberland, to whom, when you have read it, I will thank you to return it. The Queen has seen it. Crampton's private letter, which you left for me here, was not altogether satisfactory; but I do not see anything to be uneasy about in his public despatches, and this letter

[1] British Admiral on the Statio n.

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from Seymour appears to negative all probability of any collision. We must hold very temperate, but very firm, language; and assuredly, though God forbid it should come to that, I am prepared to fight for our undoubted rights, rather than yield to a spirit of democratic encroachment, which, if not steadily resisted, will have no limits to its demands. But on this account it is doubly important that we should come to an early understanding on this same Fishery Question with our French neighbours. I took the liberty of slightly altering your amended draft, in which, I think, you had asserted the right under the Law of Nations rather too broadly, without confining it to the three-mile limit from the coast. I also transposed two of the paragraphs. The Queen has seen and approved the amended draft, and the Prince told me they thought it an excellent paper.

. . . . . .

DERBY.

September 16th.—George Harris arrived at Achnacarry with the news of the Duke of Wellington's death.

Lord Malmesbury to Lord Derby on the Lord-Lieutenancy of Hants.

Achnacarry: September 17, 1852.

My dear Derby,—The news of the great Duke's death has just reached us, and a long life of prosperity and honour appears to have been providentially closed without suffering.

The event gives you an unusual burden of patronage, which will doubtless be squabbled for handsomely, and I write to remind you of our conversation upon one appointment now in your gift—namely, the Lord-Lieutenancy of Hampshire. You were kind enough to allude to me as the Duke's successor, but, as I told you then, you have done for me more than I deserve, or can repay you for in services, and I should prefer much your strengthening the party by giving the post to Winchester. He is the oldest peer by family and title in the county. Should he refuse it, mine would come after Lords Carnarvon and Portsmouth, who are not in a situation to act; but if you thought it well in the event of Winchester refusing to offer it to Palmerston, I should not consider it unfair or unwise.

Yours sincerely,

MALMESBURY.

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Lord Brougham to Lord M.

Brougham: September 20, 1852.

My dear M.,—Many thanks for your letter, but after your former one of August 14 I am a little let down. However, resignation and patience must be the lot of the unfortunate, how great soever their merits.

I was going to write you when your letter came, to tell you that I had yesterday a letter from a very trustworthy man at Paris, who though not himself in public station, has long had access to those who are, and whom I have always found to be very accurate in his information, and to have a very sound judgment. Were I at liberty to name him (which I am not), you would agree with me in considering his statement worthy of attention.

He says that within two months the President's marriage will take place (the hitch having apparently been removed, though he don't say so), that in less than three months there will be the Empire, but that Louis Napoleon will have himself 'solicited.' Meanwhile the tour has really, and not merely by the official accounts (sent to the 'Moniteur'—all other reporters prohibited it should seem), been very triumphant. But the guards are doubled at the offices of the Ministers, and part of the men in each regiment in Paris is *consigné*. Yet for all this there is not believed to be any occasion whatever, only it is to be so during Louis Napoleon's absence, and the kind of panic the Ministers are habitually in seems to descend from one Ministry to another pretty regularly.

Yours sincerely,

H. Brougham.

P.S.—My own belief is that Louis Napoleon's difficulties will begin when the Empire is proclaimed. He *may* foresee this, and be content with the Presidentship for life.

Lord Brougham to Lord M.

Brougham: September 30, 1852.

My dear M.,—I received another letter from the *knowing person* of whom I spoke when I last wrote to you; but not knowing where you were, I wrote to young Stanley in Downing Street. It was to the effect that this Belgian dispute is pretty certain to be a German quarrel, got up by Louis Napoleon in the intention of paying court

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to the coal, iron, cotton, &c., interests, as he is canvassing in all directions for support. But it seems Leopold is in great indignation, and expects the general opinion in Europe to go along with him when the case is known. My informant added that Leopold would not make any speech at the opening of his Chambers, but leave the whole matter to them. I supposed he (Leopold) had changed his intentions, but I believe now he had not. My man added that these Belgian proceedings of Louis Napoleon's have been very reluctantly acquiesced in by his (Louis Napoleon's) Ministers.

I feel somewhat uneasy with this Louis Napoleon, and fear he will, when he has nothing else to occupy the French with, turn his mind to worse things than *fêtes* and mummery.

In the South the flocking has been much exaggerated by his account, but there has been quite enough to let him take the title if he chooses. Yours very sincerely,

H. B.

Lord Brougham to Lord M. on his Apprehensions of War.

Brougham: October 1, 1852.

My dear M.,—I assure you that, independent of the circumstances mentioned in my last letter, and from quarters wholly different, I have received accounts which are anything rather than calculated to relieve me from my anxiety as to what is now passing in France, and I fear preparing for Europe, and for England more than all the rest. There is everywhere, and in these proceedings in the tour of Louis Napoleon, a most unpleasant military feeling breaking out on every occasion. You may rely upon it he is appealing to the vile national feeling more or less openly, and to the feeling of the army especially. You may also be assured of one thing—that the Cavaignacs regard war as inevitable, and don't believe that he could control the army on that subject.

I quite feel the force of the remark that persons in Cavaignac's position are to be listened to with very great caution, and that their disposition always is swayed by their situation. There is one of Machiavel's chapters of which the title preaches this distrust.

Nevertheless, in this case all the probabilities are with Cavaignac, and that such is his strong impression, you may rest assured. I know it in detail. *Assuredly we cannot be too well prepared.*

Yours,

H. B.

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Sir Charles Phipps, P.S. to H.M., to Lord M.

Balmoral: October 1, 1852.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—

. . . . . .

I was very sorry that you could not give a better account of Lady Malmesbury, for I had before heard that she had not been well.

The Queen felt severely the death of the Duke of Wellington; it had been long imminent, but I do not think that this circumstance even makes the loss, when it occurs, less painful. She felt his loss as an ornament to his country, as a devoted servant, and a safe counsellor, and as an old and intimate friend for whom she had a very deep and sincere regard. But such a life as his could not have been better ended.

Our life here varies little in its routine. Your successor, Sir John Pakington, was very successful in his first day's deer-stalking, killing two stags. Yesterday the Prince killed two very fine ones, and upon the famous stormy Monday he was fortunate enough to get *five* stalking.

Yours, &c.,

C. B. PHIPPS.

Lord Derby to Lord M. on the Greek Succession.

Goodwood: Thursday.

My dear Malmesbury,—I received your box this morning, and have taken an early opportunity of questioning the Duke of Parma upon the subject on which you wrote to me. He seemed very much surprised at the reports of his resignation which I named to him, and assured me, and desired me to assure you most solemnly that there was not a syllable of truth in them. *Je ne suis pas si fin, ni si bête.* He added that he had the greatest confidence in Mr. Ward, and was quite sure that he would not deceive him, or take any step adverse to his interests. His manner had every appearance of entire sincerity; and if there is any project afloat for his abdication I am pretty confident that he is himself no party to it.

I have also had a conversation with Brünnow on Greek affairs; and have arranged with him that you should write to Petersburg and Paris, sending a *résumé* of the case, suggesting the necessity for a revision of the Greek treaty, so as to bring it into harmony with the Constitution, and proposing to call jointly on the King of Bavaria to state the intentions of his sons with regard to the acceptance of

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the Greek religion or the renunciation of the rights of succession. I did not say anything to Brünnow about your having had any communication with Paris on the subject; and he evidently desires that the invitation to reconsider the question should proceed from you, and be addressed simultaneously to the two other Powers. On the propriety of adhering to the Constitution, if it should clash with the treaty, he entirely agrees with us. The King of Greece should be a party to the new treaty. He was not to the original one, which in point of fact has never been made public, at least, so it would appear. Yours,

DERBY.

From S.E. Count Walewski, French Ambassador, to Lord M.

Londres: 5 octobre, 1852.

Mon cher Malmesbury,—On nous avait annoncé ces jours-ci que le parlement serait réuni le 25 courant. Cette nouvelle m'avait fait espérer votre retour avant le 16, mais on m'assure que rien n'est changé aux arrangements primitifs. Je vais passer quelques jours à Broadlands. Si vous deviez être à Londres avant le 15, veuillez me l'écrire et je reviendrai en ville sans délai, ayant besoin de vous voir aussitôt votre arrivée. J'ai à vous entretenir de mille choses, et entre autres du règlement de la succession grecque. Votre ami Brünnow, avec lequel j'ai longuement causé, presse vivement une solution, et d'un autre côté, on laisse gratter l'oreille d'un Oldenburg. Dans tout cela, je désire que vous et moi nous marchions unis comme les doigts de la main. Il faut, donc, que nous nous entendions bien avant de nous prononcer l'un ou l'autre. J'apprends à l'instant que le pacte de famille est signé à Munich et à Athènes et qu'il est satisfaisant.

Mille et mille amitiés.

A. WALEWSKI.

P.S.—Le Prince marche de triomphes en triomphes. À son départ de Paris on criait: 'Vive Napoléon!' et un peu 'Vive l'Empereur!' à son retour il y aura un chorus unanime de 'Vive l'Empereur!' et 'Vive Napoléon III!'

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: October 3, 1852.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have received several notes from you which I have not answered, but I have attended to all the subjects

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to which they related, and have passed all your boxes. Stanley, who is here for three or four days, and returns on Tuesday, has brought me this morning the copy of your letter to the Prince on the subject of the Madiai[1] affair, in which I entirely concur. The Queen and Prince both spoke to me on the subject just before I left Balmoral. I had not then seen the papers, but I ventured to express my opinion that though undoubtedly it was a case which would justify an unofficial representation, it was not one in which we were entitled to interfere officially, or as of right; and I am fully of opinion that if there is any chance of obtaining a mitigation of the sentence, and a milder system for the future, private, rather than public, remonstrance and representation afford the best chance.

I am afraid, however, that chance is not a good one. The Grand Duke seems to have thrown himself body and soul into the hands of the *parti prêtre*; and John Russell hardly used too strong an expression when he said, two years ago, that there was in that body an organised conspiracy against the liberties of Europe. It is clear that Bulwer will do nothing at Rome; and the last declaration of Antonelli, that in the business of the Irish priests they could not take the initiative, inasmuch as it would be an interference with the affairs of another country, is a declaration which it must have been difficult even for an Italian cardinal to make with a grave face. It is the same party which is at work in Naples; but *there* we have got an irresistible case, and we must not only hold firm language and insist upon our rights, but, if need be, enforce them by the significant hint of the presence of our Mediterranean fleet in the Bay of Naples. I wish we had there a more energetic representative. I do not half like the attitude which France has assumed towards Belgium; and I fear that country being thrown into confusion by the recent defeat of the Government, again under the *parti prêtre* influence, backed up by France in secret—and, indeed, hardly in secret. If France invade Belgium on any quarrel arising out of the liberty of the Press, it is quite clear that we shall have no co-operation from Austria; and I do not like the tone, upon this subject, of the very last despatches, even from Russia. The *Empire* is fast approaching, but I conclude Louis Napoleon will give the assurances required by the Northern Powers, that they will recognise him personally, and that he will be content, for the present, to drop the question of *hérédité*. Certainly in his

[1] Imprisoned at Florence for proselytism.

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case that question is not as pressing as in the case of Greece, where I certainly think that Adalbert ought at once to declare his acceptance of the succession on the condition of his immediate adoption of the Greek faith, for himself, and not only for his unborn children. France, I am afraid, is playing an underhand game in this matter, and intriguing with Bavaria; though what she has to gain by it is not so apparent. Her language and her actions towards us, so far, have been perfectly friendly; but I cannot help mistrusting Louis Napoleon's *patte de velours*, and we must continue to make all 'snug' at home, in case of a sudden outbreak. On this subject I think it worth while sending you an extract from a letter I received some days ago from Emerson Tennant, who has been at Paris, and has necessarily been brought much into contact with Lord Hertford, on account of the borough of Lisburn. He says: 'I have been startled in my conversations with Lord Hertford to find the deep conviction on his mind of an intention on the part of Louis Napoleon to attempt, ere long, some hostile movement against England. Were it any other Englishman speaking of French politics, I should attach less importance to his repetition of mere *obiter dicta*; but Lord Hertford is himself more than half a Frenchman, and his intercourse with the Court here most intimate. He speaks to me, not naming Louis Napoleon himself as his authority, but leaving me to infer that it can be no other; and he looks to such a movement against England, not only as something longed for by the President, but as a thing that his position is rendering every day more and more inevitable; and that, once the Empire is constructed, its excitement passed, and the fireworks burnt out, a landing on the shore of England will be forced upon him by the aspirations of the French, the eagerness of the army, and his own emergency.' I should, of course, wish you to keep this opinion of Tennant's secret. The period to which he refers, when 'the fireworks are burnt out,' will certainly have to be looked to with great anxiety, for he will then want another *coup de théâtre*; but if he meditates any such project at present, I must give him credit for the *most consummate* hypocrisy.

I think our American affairs look well; but we have evidently got the Yankees in hand, and the three-mile limit, which is what they really want, is so clearly and absolutely ours, that negotiate they must, sooner or later; and in the meantime I have no doubt that the part we have taken will do us good in our most important colonies, and will have widened the breach between

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them and Jonathan, so as to afford little apprehension on the annexation question. *If* we did go to war with them, however, which God forbid, I cannot say that I should look without uneasiness on the state of Canada. We have a large and undefended frontier, and I cannot but fear that recent events have greatly shaken the loyalty, more especially of the West Canadians, the first to be invaded and the most distant to be succoured. On the other hand, I have no doubt whatever of our immense maritime superiority; and I hope and believe that a large portion of British seamen, now in the United States service, would return to ours if a war were to break out between the two countries. Meanwhile, Crampton should certainly, without showing too great anxiety to effect a treaty which will be fully as beneficial to the United States as to us, manifest every readiness to come to terms which shall be mutually fair; and though I certainly should have preferred that the negotiations should have been conducted in London, I think you are right in not objecting to Washington, and even in giving Congress a *quasi veto* upon the terms agreed on.

I had not had occasion for your reminder on the subject of the Hants Lord-lieutenancy, but immediately recommended Lord Winchester to the Queen, who approved of him; but having written for his direction, I learnt that he had gone to Germany, no one knowing where, and had left orders that all his letters were to be kept till his return, at his lodgings! I have, therefore, had no opportunity or means of communicating with him. If, however, he does not accept, you must take it; it would not do to offer it to Palmerston. The Queen had expected me to name you. I go to town the 12th or 13th, and we shall probably have a Council on Saturday, 16th. I cannot, therefore, let you remain much longer at Achnacarry, where, I am glad to hear, Lady M. is improving, though not, I fear, rapidly. Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

Lord M. to Lord Derby.

Achnacarry: October 8, 1852.

My dear Derby,—I was very glad to hear by your letter of the 3rd that you approved of what I had done respecting any interference in the Madiai case, and with regard to the pending negotiation with the United States. In the former matter Prince

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Albert's letter has already done some good, and moved the Grand Duke of Tuscany to a promise of future mercy.

I send you to-day a very satisfactory letter from Crampton. We have asserted our rights firmly and moderately, and placed ourselves in a much more advantageous position with the United States than we stood in before.

All you say about the French President's views has been for a long time on my mind. *Everybody* agrees with you, and the feeling of apprehension is universal. I hear it from various quarters—from Brougham and his French correspondents, from my private secretary Harris and his French relations, and, in short, from what must be considered the best authority for *prophecy*. This general terror of what is coming is a *presentiment*, for none can give any reasons founded on facts to show the sinister feelings and intentions of Louis Napoleon. I believe I stand alone, therefore, in disbelieving them; and these are my arguments:—He has no natural dislike to the English. Ever since I knew him, he courted their society and imitated their habits. Twenty years ago, when he could not have been playing a part with me—who had even less chance of being Foreign Secretary than he of being Emperor—he always said that his uncle's great mistake was not being friends with England. I never knew him to hint at revenge for his degradation at St. Helena, but it is possible that that sentiment may rankle in his breast. Assuming that it does, and that eventually he intends if possible to indulge it, why should he go such a roundabout way to make war with us as through the Belgian Guarantee? We are unfortunately bound by treaty and interest to protect Belgium and the Scheldt, and *must* do it. Russia, Austria, and Prussia are equally bound with us, and may, or may not, do it. Louis Napoleon knows all this, and that he runs the risk of bringing two, three, or four Powers upon him if he invades Belgium for the sake of quarrelling with England; whereas, if he picked an independent quarrel with us—which he might easily do at Newfoundland, in Egypt, or about *our Press*—no Power is obliged by treaty, or likely by affection, to support us against him. It would be a single-handed fight, in which the spectators (with the exception of Russia and Belgium) would applaud him and pray for his success. Now, since Louis Napoleon has been in power, he has lost no opportunity of showing friendly feeling. If a Consul has been disagreeable, he has had him trounced; if we wanted his help, as in Egypt and Cuba, he gave it at once. He has avoided point-

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edly every subject of dispute, and has with this feeling just expressed a wish again to negotiate for the exchange of the territories of Albreda and Portendie. So with regard to our tariff. If Disraeli was ready, we might now get a quasi free-trade treaty with France. The belief after all this that the President is concocting a great scheme against England can, therefore, only be called a *presentiment*; but it nevertheless does exist throughout his own country and ours. Material circumstances also militate against it. If our informers are correct, the French dockyards never were more sluggish. I write all this to you, not of course to recommend supineness, for I would not reduce a single ship or seaman, and I trust Disraeli's scheme will not require *that*, but only to give you my opinion of the man's nature, feelings, and intentions at present. I believe that he is convinced that war with England lost his uncle the throne, and that he *means* to try *peace* with us. He wants to marry and have heirs, and I do not at present see that the 7,000,000 who have twice elected him, and will do so again, require the 'fireworks.' The first time he was elected he did not know twenty people in all France by sight. The second, he had just committed a gross act of public violence. Neither his obscurity nor notoriety made any difference, and I believe his *name* to be enough to sustain him among the masses for *his* life, and I do not foresee the circumstances that are to force him out of his course. Enough, however, of that.

On Greece. I think the safest way will be to content ourselves with placing the 40th Act of the Constitution and the Treaty in unison, and leaving the rest to death. The Bavarian family then will not commit suicide when the present King dies. Walewski, speaking for his Government, only wants a Russian kept out. Russia may *know* that Adalbert will not now renounce his religion, and if so would press the question. My plan would prevent this.

. . . . . .

Yours ever,

MALMESBURY.

October 14*th*.—Arrived in London from Achnacarry.

October 15*th*.—Saw Walewski on Greek Succession.

October 16*th*.—Cabinet. Settled Duke of Wellington's

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funeral for November 18. Parliament to meet November 4. I hear the enthusiasm shown for the President during his progress in the South of France surpasses that given to him at Strasburg. I heard a characteristic anecdote of him. When at one of the places through which he passed the bishop met and told him that he was adored, and that whereas there were many Socialists in the town who had Louis Blanc's picture in their houses, they now had Louis Napoleon's. 'Croyez-vous, Monseigneur,' replied the President, 'que tous ceux qui ont le portrait de la Vierge suspendu dans leurs maisons sont des bons Catholiques?'

October 17th.—Saw Brünnow on Greek Succession. He was startled at my plan, which he said was new. Would give no answer. Tricoupi of course in favour. Cetto wanted the signatures of the Bavarian family compact to be introduced into the new treaty. My *projet* was intended to avoid this, as it would be self-acting.

October 18th.—Conference on Greek Succession. Brünnow and Walewski both adhered to my *projet*. After a discussion as to allowing the Bavarian to attend as an equal, Brünnow and I refused, as we are the three protecting Powers, and we knew Cetto would try to oppose my *projet*.

October 19th.—Macedo, Brazilian Minister, called. I told him the Government was not prepared to accept his proposed slave treaty yet, but when Brazil had proved a little longer her sincerity to suppress the slave trade we would do so, as I considered Lord Palmerston, in his zeal to destroy slavery, had taken a high-handed line by forcing Brazil to submit to a right of search within her own waters, and that nothing but necessity excused it.

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Van de Weyer and Lavradio came to frighten me as to a French invasion and the annexation of Belgium, whose safety we have guaranteed.

Bunsen has told his Government an untruth by saying that their condolence for the Duke of Wellington's death was uncivilly received by us. I gave him my mind on this ill-natured fable.

I refused to join officially with Prussia in a remonstrance to Tuscany about the Madiai, who were imprisoned for proselytising, but we are using our unofficial influence as far as we can, and with success.

October 20*th.*—Cabinet. Disraeli's financial scheme.

October 21*st.*—Lord Derby inaugurated as Chancellor of Oxford. He made an excellent Latin speech.

October 22*nd.*—Cabinet. Discussed Highway Bill and transportation. Lundy Island suggested for the latter.

October 23*rd.*—Cetto refuses to adhere to Greek protocol without reference to Munich.

October 24*th.*—Went to St. Leonard's, near Windsor, which Lord Derby has hired. The Queen writes anxiously about the national defences. Universal apprehension of war if the French Empire is proclaimed. This panic is spread far and wide by King Leopold, who has spoken to me repeatedly on the subject, and will not believe that Louis Napoleon's policy at this time is to gain and secure the alliance with England and consolidate his position with the Great Powers by a pacific policy. An attack on Belgium would have the contrary effect, and I consider it out of the question.

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October 25th.—Cabinet from 1 till 5. Subject: national defences. Duke of Northumberland asked for 4,000 more seamen. Disraeli's Budget. Nothing settled but the abolition of half the malt tax.

October 27th.—Shooting with the Prince at Bagshot. Queen anxious about the Madiai, and her mind much occupied with Louis Napoleon and the Empire.

October 28th and 29th.—Cabinets. Local taxes discussed. Disraeli wishes to abolish law of Poor Law Settlement, and make county rates managed by a more popular board.

October 30th.—Bulwer writes to say Murray's life is saved. He was condemned to death for murder by the Roman Court, and his guilt as an accessory at least is undoubted. Butenval, French Minister at Turin, and Massimo d'Azeglio, Prime Minister, quarrel. Latter resigns. Cavour succeeds. Lavalette overbearing in Turkey. I had to complain of him, and he is recalled.

French agents everywhere assume an arrogant tone. Louis Napoleon to us is all civility. Statements are sent me of a plan to invade England[1] (which Lord Raglan had received), and carry off the Queen from Osborne by a *coup de main*. Lord Hardinge very anxious about the want of artillery, the gun-carriages being the same as those used at Waterloo, more than forty years ago. Lord Hardinge is made Commander-in-Chief by the Queen. Saw Mr. Newton, the victim of Verona, who was imprisoned for a short time for sketching

[1] I received several of these pseudo-plans, which were no doubt suggested, but hardly seriously. It is, however, true that Cavaignac believed it feasible in case of a war with England.

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the fortifications. An absurd young man with a beard and a fancy hat, which are now the symbols of the Communists. He seemed to have no idea what compensation or apology he ought to ask for.

October 31*st.*—Brünnow called to talk over 'the Empire' and Napoleon III. How are we to recognise his title? I replied that we should accept the President as Emperor *de facto in presente*, and would not allude to hereditary chances, retrospective or future, but leave those to the French people; that I considered it absurd at the moment we broke the treaties of our ancestors of 1815 respecting the Bonaparte family, thereby proving the short-sightedness of mortal prevision, we should again attempt to decide for unborn generations. As to calling him Napoleon III. when we had never recognised Napoleon II., it seemed absurd, inasmuch as we accepted Charles X. and Louis Philippe during the life of the Duc de Reichstadt. Russia will not recognise the Empire if Louis Napoleon assumes the title of 'Protector of Eastern Catholics.'

November 1*st.*—Cabinet upon title of Napoleon III. Massimo d'Azeglio, who had resigned the Premiership of Sardinia, is reinstated. A. Fitzclarence, from Paris, says the army is peaceably inclined, and that Mrs. Howard, the President's mistress, declares he has no wish for war.

November 2*nd.*—Brünnow and Colloredo on the title of Napoleon III. Dined at Walewski's. I tried to persuade him what a mistake it was to assume a numeral that would make difficulties. In six months his money, portraits, &c., would bear the style of Napoleon III., and everybody would

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call him so; but to force us and the Great Powers to give the lie to history and stultify ourselves as to everything we had done and recognised for thirty-seven years seemed absurd. At first he flared up, said it would be war to refuse it, but ended by admitting 'que j'avais raison et qu'il donnerait mes conseils au Prince.'

November 3rd.—Austria declines sending officers to the Duke of Wellington's funeral, so furious are they still at the attack made upon Marshal Haynau in the streets of London.[1] Called on Disraeli, just returned from Windsor. He had had a discussion of two and a half hours with the Prince upon the national defences. Disraeli, in very low spirits, said it would destroy his Budget, and ridiculed the panic.

November 4th.—An article in the 'Morning Post' from its correspondent in Paris on the title of Napoleon III., retailing nearly every word of my last conversation with Walewski.

November 5th.—Sent for Walewski. He confessed that the French Government paid the 'Morning Post,' and that he saw Borthwick, the editor, every day.

I proposed that when Louis Napoleon announced the title we should recognise it with a 'protest' against his retrospective right to the throne.

November 8th.—Cabinet. Irish affairs. Tenant Right

[1] He was accused of having had women flogged during the rebellion of 1848, which, true or false, the mob in London believed, and when he went to see a brewery he was attacked and insulted.

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Bill appears to me to discourage any investment in Ireland. Agree to give back Napoleon's will to the French Government. Lord Derby writes an elaborate Memorandum upon the new titles of Louis Napoleon. One of the best papers I ever read. Addington and Mellish, the oldest and ablest *rédacteurs* at the Foreign Office, said that neither Canning nor Palmerston could have done the like, being written straight off without a single erasure in copper-plate hand.

November 9th.—The Queen sent for Lord Derby and me to Windsor, to talk over the Memorandum. Satisfied with it. I persuaded Lord Derby that my plan of the 'protest' was the best and safest way out of the difficulty now that Napoleon III. was a *fait accompli*, and that the Senate had declared that he had an hereditary claim to the crown.

Mr. Newton, the Verona victim, called. He admitted that when he arrived at his own home his hat and his beard had so changed him that his own mother did not know him. No wonder that with these revolutionary appendages the Croatian sentry arrested him.

November 11th. — Parliament opened. The Russian Generals Gortschakoff and Benckendorf present. No amendment to the Speech moved in either House. Lord Derby declared his compulsory adherence to Free-trade, as did Disraeli in the Commons. Gladstone and the Peelites very bitter.

November 12th.—Heard from Lord Cowley that Louis Napoleon had sent for him, and stated that he did not consider his empire hereditary retrospectively for the following reasons :—

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First. If he did, he would have called himself Napoleon V., because both his elder uncle Joseph and his father Louis outlived the Duc de Reichstadt.

Secondly. Because, if he had considered himself hereditary, he would not have required an election.

Thirdly. That, if hereditary, he would have dated his reign from his cousin's or father's death.

Walewski repeated this argument to me. Disraeli in very low spirits at the demand for additional expenses for army and navy.

Palmerston supposed to have joined the Peelites. I went to see the Duke of Wellington lie in state at Chelsea.

November 13*th*.—Cabinet. Colonial affairs. Several persons killed in the crowd at Chelsea. Sent for to Windsor. Lodged in the Round Tower, next door to Brünnow and Prince Gortschakoff, who was an inveterate smoker, and was thus kept at a distance. He was dressed, I believe for the first time in his life, *en bourgeois*, in an evening suit, in which he felt miserable. But Brünnow insisted on it. Not having his jack-boots on, but pumps, he slipped up on his way to dinner, and rolled some way down the Tower staircase, but without any damage to his gaunt and iron frame. The Duke of Brabant dined; very uneasy at Louis Napoleon's elevation. Long conversation with the Prince on national defences. Agreed with him we should want 2,000 artillerymen, 1,000 horses, and 5,000 seamen, which would be a permanent additional expense of 230,000*l*. a year.

November 15*th*.—Saw Disraeli and Lord Derby on national defences.

A great number of ladies and gentlemen had tickets to

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view the preparations at St. Paul's for the funeral. Among them were Lady Jersey, Lady Clementina Villiers, Lady V. Talbot, Lady Chesterfield, Mrs. Anson, Lady Derby, Lady E. Stanley, Lady Ailesbury, &c. It was like an evening party. All in black, except Lady ——, who was in pink, and Lady —— in a *grenat* velvet and blue bonnet.

November 16*th.*—Twenty-seven foreign officers are arrived as deputations from all the European Courts. Walewski was coquetting about attending the funeral, and asked Brünnow whether he thought that, as a Frenchman, he ought to do so, to which Brünnow replied: 'Mon cher, si nous allions *ressusciter* ce pauvre duc, je comprends que vous pourriez vous dispenser d'assister à cette cérémonie; mais, puisque nous sommes invités pour l'*enterrer*, il me semble que vous pouvez, vous, en faire votre deuil.' Walewski had positive orders to attend the funeral from Louis Napoleon, who spoke with great respect of the Duke.

November 17*th.*—Nesselrode wrote to Brünnow, proposing exactly what I did to the Cabinet—namely, that a protest should be made against the numeral inferring any hereditary right.

November 18*th.*—Duke's funeral. I started for the place of rendezvous, St. James's Park, at 8 A.M. A dreary morning, and raining. The signal-gun fired at a quarter to nine, and at the same moment the sun broke out for the first time since last month. The weather had been awful, and the whole country is deluged. All the Corps Diplomatique present at St. Paul's except Brünnow, who shammed ill for fear of a row.

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The *cortège* proceeded up the Mall and Constitution Hill through a countless mass of silent people, almost all in deep black, passing Buckingham Palace, where the Queen and Prince stood on the balcony in deep mourning, then turned down Piccadilly, straight to St. Paul's. The Ministers in their carriages followed. The streets were lined with troops, and no one can forget the solemn silence and unbroken order that prevailed throughout this long route. On arriving at St. Paul's, which was completely full from the pavement to the roof, the same order prevailed. Round the entrance of the vault sat the Corps Diplomatique, the deputations of foreign officers, the Duke's old generals, Lords Anglesea, Hardinge, Napier, and his other companions in arms, also the distinguished officers of the navy and members of Parliament of both Houses and both parties. Anthems by Handel were played, the words of one of which were, 'His body is buried in peace, his soul liveth for evermore,' accompanied, it is said, by 2,000 voices. When they turned over the leaves of their music-books, which they did simultaneously, it sounded like a sudden blast of wind. Lord Douro, as chief mourner, stood at the entrance of the vault, while the guns, fired from different parts of London, saluted the descent of the coffin. The emotion produced upon all was the same, and unchecked tears rolled down the cheeks of the oldest veteran.

> Such honours Ilion to her hero paid,
> And peaceful slept the mighty Hector's shade.

November 20th.—We signed, at my house in Whitehall Gardens, the treaty of the Greek Succession after a tiresome wrangle with Cetto. He signed *sub spe rata*, and put in a foolish declaration, which Tricoupi answered. Both were

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added to the documents, and are valueless paper. Brünnow said to me afterwards, 'Cetto is so toff,' meaning 'tough.' I received twenty-seven foreign officers at dinner, together with Lord Anglesea, Sir H. Smith, Lord Hardinge, Lord Gough, Lords Derby, Cowley, and Westmoreland, &c. Three hundred cannon were planted at Cherbourg and thirty at Granville last week.

November 21*st.*—Our party alarmed, and, to the amount of seventy, they refused to vote for Disraeli's amendment on Mr. Villiers's [1] motion (Free Trade). Disraeli's amendment renounces Protection; but as the first division will be against Villiers's words, and they will stand by us on that, it signifies nothing, provided they do not absent themselves.

Lord M. to Sir Hamilton Seymour, H.M. Minister at St. Petersburg.

Foreign Office: November 21, 1852.

My dear Sir Hamilton,—I take this chance opportunity of sending you a line.

Cowley is come over and considers Louis Napoleon's conversation to him respecting the meaning of the numeral III. as perfectly *official.* Louis Napoleon twice stated two most important principles —1st. That he acknowledged all the acts which had taken place since 1815, such as the reigns of the elder Bourbons and of Louis Philippe; 2nd. That he laid no claim to *hereditary* right to the throne of France, but only to that by election.

I understand that there will be no special ambassador, but that the notification will be made at the respective Courts.

Brünnow does not like our (nearly) fixed intention of recognising Napoleon III. under this officially declared interpretation of the

[1] If any one deserves the credit of ably defending Free Trade in Parliament and of being the first to agitate for it, it is the Hon. C. Villiers, although Cobden has been somewhat unfairly held up as its first champion.

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numeral. Of course it must be more solemnly and officially declared than it has yet been. Our William III. is a case in point; the *third* of that name acknowledged by the English, but no descendant of William Rufus.

Brünnow had a cold in his *head* on the day of the funeral, and did not attend it. The truth is, he thought there might be a crush, during which some refugee Pole might insult his *person*.

. . . . . .

We signed the Greek Treaty yesterday. Cetto's nose was brought to the grindstone, and he was two hours under the operation, *la peine forte et dure*, before he released us from a torture worse than his own. Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

November 22nd.—Went to Windsor. Dined sixty-eight in Waterloo Gallery. All the foreign officers and the principal English generals. Lord John Russell has sent to Lord Hardinge to say he would support the Government on the subject of national defences.

November 24th.—Wrote to Lord Derby on national defences. We went to Windsor. Conversation on state of affairs and reforming Lord Derby's Cabinet. He was of opinion that he could not do without Palmerston, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert. Lonsdale and Hardwicke were ready to resign and make room.

November 25th.—Lord Derby had full power from the Queen to arrange a Government and fusion on two conditions—namely, that Palmerston was not to lead the Commons. He had been last night with Disraeli and said he had nothing to do with the Peelites. They declare through Lord Jocelyn that they will go with Palmerston if he is leader of the House of Commons. No one to negotiate with.

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November 27th.—Privy Council at Windsor. The Queen pleased at our vote of 5,000 seamen, 1,500 marines, 2,000 artillery. Great dinner and party at Lord Derby's for foreign officers. Russian despatches arrive of 20th. They accept the Empire, but reject the numeral.

November 28th.—Saw Lord Derby. He averse to letting Palmerston into Cabinet alone. I think him wrong. If he, Gladstone, and Herbert came into it, he would be overwhelmed in the Commons by this portion of the Cabinet. Nor would I object to Palmerston and Herbert. I cannot make out Gladstone, who seems to me a dark horse.

November 29th.—I told Walewski what instructions I had given Cowley about the title of Napoleon III. He said, with much excitement, that the French Government never would give the assurances in *writing*. Walewski spoke of condescension in their replying. I said we had a right to ask questions, and if they were not answered we should take the same line as the other Powers. He ended by suggesting that either Drouyn de l'Huys could read my despatch and declare to Lord Cowley that he recognised the verbal assurances there described verbally, or make his (Walewski's) *note verbale officielle*. I said the first would not do, but the latter might.

The Russian despatches show that the Emperor Nicholas is very much caught by Louis Napoleon's character, and that Brünnow and Nesselrode have prevented him from recognising him at once.

A great dinner to the foreign officers given at the United Service Club. Gortschakoff made a racy military speech, which, after a panegyric on the Duke of Wellington, ended

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thus: 'Vive cette armée qui a combattu avec lui! Vive cette belle marine qui a nettoyé son chemin, et aidé ses efforts! Mais, avant tout, vive la vieille et glorieuse Angleterre!'

This last sentiment, which he declaimed in a voice of thunder, was electrical.[1]

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: November 29, 1852.

My dear Lord Cowley,—I have received your note, and, to be as explicit as possible, I again write to you to say that we *must* have the explanations in *writing*. If you find Drouyn de l'Huys will not give an amplified statement similar to the *note verbale*, we may, I think, be satisfied by his mere adhesion to the statements made by the President and Walewski, which are recapitulated, or alluded to, in my despatch of this day. These statements you will repeat *at length* in the note which you will send in to him—namely, the three reasons given to you and me, and the words, *original* and *additional*, which I quote from the *note verbale*.

To your note Drouyn de l'Huys must reply. He has only to say that he officially confirms the language used to us verbally and cited in your note, and he need make no observation on ours respecting Napoleon III.

If you tell him this privately before you send the note in, I think they cannot but be satisfied at being let down so easily.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: November 29, 1852.

My dear Lord Cowley,—Walewski, after an unsuccessful attempt to see me, at last waylaid me on my way to the House, so I was obliged to have a conversation with him. It has not been satisfactory, and will be sent to Drouyn de l'Huys before you see

[1] Just one year after, we were at war with Russia, and that same Gortschakoff was holding Sebastopol against us with the most obstinate courage and skill.

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him. Walewski began by saying that Kisseleff had seen Drouyn de l'Huys, and had agreed to everything, although he said he had no instructions respecting the title. Yet, according to Walewski, he did not object to that. This brought on the subject of Napoleon III., and Walewski said we should have the notification here on Thursday morning, that it would be made to you Wednesday evening, and to him by that night's mail. He then urged me to send you instructions accordingly, and asked me what I should say. I stated to him the tenour of my despatch, upon which he declared that he did not believe that Drouyn de l'Huys would exchange notes formally or even *write* you an answer to a despatch inquiring of him whether he confirmed officially the substance of the *note verbale* and the assurances of the Ambassador. He spoke of the explanation as a condescension, and I was obliged to tell him that we had a right to ask the meaning of the cypher, and that we considered it more important than any assurance of peace and order which he might make; and that, if they meant to be 'loyal,' I could not understand their objection to *write* what they were ready to *say*. He suggested that you should lay my version of our conversation before Drouyn de l'Huys, and that he should verbally assure you that it was correct and recognised by him, and that your account to me of this transaction would be a voucher sufficient for Parliament. As he found I was not satisfied, he ended by stating that he thought Drouyn de l'Huys *would consent to making the* note verbale *an official document* (as annexed to this letter). It appears to me that this would be sufficient if done in the proper diplomatic form. Walewski evidently seemed to think a formal note almost impossible, because he states we have no right to ask a question which relates to the *internal* arrangements of France—as he pretends the title does!

. . . . . .

If Drouyn de l'Huys refuses either to *write* an acknowledgment of the substance of the *note verbale*, or to endow it bodily with an official character, you will tell him that you must refer to your Court for further instructions; but that, if he does one of these two things, her Majesty's Government will receive the notification without further remarks than those of cordial amity.

Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

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December 1st.—Cowley has failed to get a written assurance upon the cypher III. If he does not do so, I shall state the conversations of the President and Walewski to Parliament.

Disraeli much annoyed at the panic. Walewski came at one o'clock to notify the Empire.

December 2nd.—Cabinet. Budget settled. Malt duty reduced one-half. Tea duties 4*d.* per pound. Light dues and salvage taken off. Income tax extended and modified. House tax doubled and extended. 600,000*l.* to be the supplementary estimate for national defences. French Government gives *a written assurance of their interpretation of Napoleon III. Emperor repeats it in his speech to the Senate.*

December 3rd.—Disraeli moves his Budget. Well received. He spoke five hours and a quarter, and brilliantly.

Lord M. to the Queen.

Foreign Office: December 3, 1852.

Lord Malmesbury presents his humble duty to the Queen. Your Majesty will have learnt with satisfaction that Lord Cowley has obtained a formal and written acknowledgment from the French Secretary of State of the explanations given verbally by him and the French Ambassador to your Majesty's servants. This demand on the part of your Majesty's Government having been complied with, they determined, at a Cabinet Council which they held yesterday, to advise your Majesty to recognise the new Empire and Emperor without further reserve. Count Walewski has brought to Lord Malmesbury the notification of these facts, and Lord Malmesbury respectfully submits to your Majesty two drafts, one being a reply to this notification, and the other for Lord Cowley's credentials. Should they meet with your Majesty's approbation, both will be forwarded immediately.

December 4th.—Official recognition of French Empire.

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Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: December 4, 1852.

My dear Lord Cowley,—We are much obliged to you for the manner in which you have brought the thorny question of the numeral to a successful issue. Your conversation with the Emperor was very curious respecting his naval armaments. If we keep 10,000 good seamen always in the Channel I do not care what he does in that line. . . You may assure the Emperor that we hail with sincere satisfaction the language which he and his Ministers have held to us, both as regards the title he has assumed and his future policy, and the Queen expressed herself much pleased at his speech to the legislative bodies.

The Great Powers seem determined to refuse him the numeral. It is with them, especially with Russia and Austria, a personal question. Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

December 6th.—Debate on Free Trade, and resolutions in House of Lords. Budget in the Commons. I announced the recognition of the Empire, and was attacked by Lord Canning for commenting upon it favourably. Like all Peelites, he is most bitter against me. They have got it into their heads, most absurdly and erroneously, that I was the principal in causing Lord Derby's secession from them in 1846. Nor do they forgive my sudden elevation to Cabinet office without having ever previously laboured as they have done through preparatory grades.

December 9th. — Went to Osborne to present the Walewskis and *his* new credentials. Prince still very eager on army and navy.

December 11th.—Lord Derby and Disraeli agreed to resign if beaten on house tax.

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December 12*th.*—Saw Disraeli. Our opinion is that he must give up doubling the house tax, and halving the malt tax.

December 13*th.*—Walewski came to ask the hand of the Princess Adelaide of Hohenlohe in marriage for the Emperor. I had foreseen this, and told the Queen. Walewski said the Emperor's marriage with the Princess Wasa was off. He blamed the disputes of France with Russia about the *Lieux Saints* in Palestine.

December 14*th.*—Debate on Budget still raging in the Commons. Lord Derby announces in the House of Lords that he shall resign if beaten.

Conversation with Walewski about Cuba and American disclosures thereon. In 1849 they offered 100,000,000 dollars for it to Spain. We and France have offered to renounce all possession of Cuba for ever if the United States will agree to do likewise. As yet they refuse.

December 16*th.*—Carini, Neapolitan Minister, called about the schoolmaster Hamilton's case, whose school was closed by the Neapolitan Government. He told me to name a sum of compensation, and agreed to 100*l.*, which satisfied Mr. Hamilton. Great excitement about the division of to-night, which settles the fate of our Ministry.

December 17*th.*—We are beaten on the Budget by a majority of 19—305 to 286. Disraeli made a magnificent speech. The Peelites number forty-six only in the Commons. Lord Derby went to Osborne to the Queen. I adjourned the House of Lords till Monday. The general conviction is that the Peelites and Whigs have coalesced.

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December 18*th*.—Lord Derby came back from Osborne. The Queen had told him to send Lord Aberdeen as well as Lord Lansdowne, and they went down; the Prince observing that, constitutionally speaking, it was not necessary he should recommend any one. The Queen asked who was likely to form a Government, and Lord Derby told her Lord Aberdeen had, he believed, coalesced with the Whigs and was ready to be Prime Minister. The Queen objected to the idea of Lord Canning being Foreign Secretary, no doubt partly in consequence of his anti-Bonapartist speech when I announced the Empire, which at this moment would be an awkward introduction. The House of Commons is now composed thus:—

Derbyites	292
Peelites	30
Whigs	130
Radicals	160
Irish Brigade	50
In round numbers	662

December 19*th*.—Brünnow called. Disturbed about the question of the Holy Places in Palestine between the Russians and French. Turks in despair between the two combatants. He paid his farewell compliments and observed, with apparent pleasure, that we had never had a disagreeable discussion. He is undoubtedly the most able of the Diplomatic Corps and a first-rate *rédacteur*.

Colloredo, who afterwards came, spoke in a similar sense, and I value his remarks, as he is a gentleman in every sense of the word.

Lord Aberdeen went down alone to the Queen to-day, as Lord Lansdowne was too ill. The coalition is said to be complete.

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Lord M. to Lord Cowley, H.M. Ambassador at Paris.

Foreign Office: December 20, 1852.

My dear Cowley,—The new Government are so much involved in difficulty that I am likely to be Foreign Secretary for a week longer, at least, and under these circumstances, I must beg of you to do all you can to show Drouyn de l'Huys that the Holy Places question, if roughly handled, is one that may bring on trouble and war. It is one of those points upon which the moral power of the Emperor of Russia rests, and I can as much believe that he would give up the despotic principle by having a Russian House of Commons as surrender his prestige over the populations of the Greek faith by any appearance of cession on this claim. It is giving Russia an opportunity of bullying and degrading the Porte, and when she thinks she is losing ground at Jerusalem, she tries *de se rattraper* in some other place like Montenegro. The Emperor has done quite enough to satisfy the *parti prêtre* without taking up the cause of a minority like the Latins in the East. Perhaps at Compiègne you might have an opportunity of giving him my opinion, which is in his interest. Yours truly,

MALMESBURY.

December 20th.—A meeting of the party at Lord Derby's —about 150 Lords and Commons. He addressed them with great effect, promising to continue to lead them, deprecating faction, recommending union. Lord Aberdeen has asked for a week to form his Government.

December 21st.—Great difficulties in forming a Government. Palmerston refused Aberdeen, who went to him. Lord John Russell is to give his conditions to-night. Clarendon to be Foreign Secretary if the coalition succeeds.

December 22nd.—They are much disconcerted at Palmerston's refusal. Walewski, whom I saw at his house, told me the Emperor meant to ask for the Princess Adelaide's hand from her father.

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Everyone must appreciate the pleasure—*laudari laudato viro*—which is my excuse for quoting Lord Derby's speech in my praise in the House of Lords on the 20th:—'My lords, I have no hesitation in saying with respect to the foreign affairs of the country that we leave them in a much more satisfactory condition than when we acceded to office—that our foreign relations are far more friendly and satisfactory than when my noble friend the Foreign Secretary received the charge of his department. I rejoice in having this opportunity of bearing my testimony in reference to one man than whom no person has been more unsparingly, and, I will venture to say, more unjustly maligned, and of stating that from the first to the last I have had no cause for anything but self-congratulation in having obtained in the Foreign Department the services of one who, without previous political experience, has brought to bear a diligence, ability, and good judgment on the affairs of that great department which reflect the highest credit on himself, and which, I may venture to say without fear of contradiction, have extorted the applause and admiration of old and experienced diplomatists, whose views on more than one occasion he has combated, and successfully combated.' This generous compliment, so publicly made, more than compensates me for the excessive abuse which I have from first to last received from a 'ribald press.' The expression is not mine, but that of Lord John Russell.

December 24th.—Cabinet formed as follows:—

Lord Chancellor	Lord Cranworth.
Prime Minister	Lord Aberdeen.
President of the Council . .	Lord Granville.
Privy Seal	Duke of Argyll.

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Foreign Secretary . . .	Lord John Russell.
Home Secretary . . .	Lord Palmerston.
Colonial Secretary . . .	Duke of Newcastle.
Admiralty	Sir James Graham.
War Secretary	Mr. Sidney Herbert.
Chancellor of the Exchequer. .	Mr. Gladstone.
Without office	Lord Lansdowne.
Woods and Forests . . .	Sir W. Molesworth.

December 26th.—It is said that Lord Palmerston joined Lord Aberdeen's Government in consequence of a letter from the Queen asking him to do so. The general opinion is that, without him, the Peelites could not have formed one.

December 27th.—Lord John Russell called on me, as is the custom, in the morning, to know the *status quo* of our foreign affairs.

December 28th.—I went to Windsor with the rest of my colleagues (except Lord Derby, who took leave of the Queen last Sunday) to give up the seals. Her Majesty gave me an audience of half an hour, and was very gracious. Lord John had said to Walewski about Lord Derby: 'C'est une gloire pour Lord Derby d'avoir gouverné le pays comme il l'a fait ces derniers dix mois. Nous avons trouvé tout en meilleur état que quand nous l'avons laissé.' The Queen told the Chancellor she was sorry to lose his services. When I went into the room Her Majesty began on the subject of the proposed marriage of her niece.

The Prince read a letter from Prince Hohenlohe on the subject, which amounted to this, that he was not sure of the settlement being satisfactory, and that there were objections of religion and morals. The Queen and Prince talked

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of the marriage reasonably, and weighed the *pros* and *cons*. Afraid the Princess should be dazzled if she heard of the offer. I said I knew an offer would be made to the father. Walewski would go himself. The Queen alluded to the fate of all the wives of the rulers of France since 1789,[1] but did not positively object to the marriage.

December 29th.—We went to Heron Court. Whole country under water. Lord Cowley relates a curious anecdote as to the origin of the numeral III. in the Emperor's title. The Prefect of Bourges, where he slept the first night of his progress, had given instructions that the people were to shout 'Vive Napoléon!' but he wrote 'Vivè Napoléon!!!' The people took the three notes of interjection as a numeral. The President, on hearing it, sent the Duc de Mortemart to the Prefect to know what the cry meant. When the whole thing was explained the President, tapping the Duke on the shoulder, said: 'Je ne savais pas que j'avais un Préfet Machiavelliste.' I hear the new Emperor's civil list is to be 25,000,000 francs (1,000,000*l.*), and all the palaces, which he is to keep up. He now talks of making Jerome Governor of Algeria, but this is opposed by St. Arnaud and the Ministers.

Someone said to Berryer: 'Louis Napoléon veut faire le lit de Henri IV.' 'Au moins,' replied Berryer, 'il ne lui manquera pas de paillasses.'

From S.E. Baron Brünnow, Russian Ambassador, to Lord M.

Chesham Place: 30 décembre, 1852.

Cher Lord Malmesbury,—Je vous ai manqué hier matin de cinq minutes en passant chez vous pour vous remercier de votre

[1] A prophetic presentiment.

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aimable billet qu'on venait de me remettre de votre part. Il a été pour moi une nouvelle preuve d'amitié dont je vous suis bien reconnaissant. Permettez-moi de saisir encore cette occasion pour vous dire de nouveau combien j'ai eu à me féliciter de nos bons rapports durant votre ministère, dont je garderai le souvenir le plus agréable et le plus reconnaissant. Votre très-dévoué,

BRÜNNOW.

1853

Count Nesselrode to Sir H. Seymour after Lord Derby's Resignation.

St.-Pétersbourg: 1 janvier, 1853.

Voici, mon cher Sir Hamilton, une lettre que je me permets de recommander à vos soins obligeants. C'est une réponse et un adieu que je fais à Lord Derby. Ne m'étant pas trouvé dans des relations personnelles semblables avec Lord Malmesbury, j'éprouve néanmoins le besoin de lui dire combien j'ai su apprécier les dispositions obligeantes, ainsi que les facilités que nous avons trouvées en lui dans toutes les affaires que nous avons eu à traiter avec votre gouvernement sous son ministère. Veuillez vous charger, mon cher Sir Hamilton, d'être l'interprète de ces sentiments auprès de Lord Malmesbury.

Mille amitiés et hommages,

NESSELRODE.

Sir G. H. Seymour, H.M. Ambassador at St. Petersburg, to Lord M.

St. Petersburg: January 13, 1853.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—The enclosed letters will show you exactly on what terms you part with Count Nesselrode—as he writes, so he always speaks of you.

If you collect autographs, you may perhaps like to keep the writing of a man who belongs to a class of Ministers becoming, alas! very scarce. He is about the last of his class.

Believe me, &c,

G. H. SEYMOUR.

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January 3rd, Heron Court.—Lords Anson, Tankerville, and Stanley, and Colonel Blair[1] came. Gladstone standing for Oxford.

Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord M.

St. Petersburg: January 7, 1853.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—I feel very much obliged to you for your letter of December 26, and for the kind assurance you give me of my having been one of the number of 'our correspondents' whose reports were of some use during the time that you directed our Foreign Affairs.

On my side I can assure you that I am pretty sensible of the attention and kindness which I have met with at your hands, and that I can well understand your being satisfied with the success of your diplomatic existence.

Of others I cannot speak—of myself I can, and with full *connaissance de cause*. Now this much I know, that I have passed thirty-six years in diplomatic exercise, that I am not troubled with weak nerves, and that, notwithstanding these two advantages, I would not undertake the office which you have been conducting—no, not for ten days—and not for any consideration that could be offered. The reason why, I, perhaps, should do well to withhold, but I like being frank, and here it is. I would not attempt to do what you have been doing, because before the ten days were over other people would discover that of which I am already aware.

Be you in or be you out of Downing Street, believe me, &c.

G. H. Seymour.

January 8th.—Gladstone has a majority of 56 at Oxford.

January 18th.—My brother, Captain Harris, has exchanged Lima, to which I had appointed him, for Chili.

January 19th.—I left for London, Hatfield, and Knowsley. Duchess of Sutherland made Mistress of the Robes.

[1] Killed at Inkerman.

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January 22nd.—The Emperor's marriage with Mdlle. de Montijo is quite settled, and is to take place at Notre Dame on the 29th.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

G. Gate: January 24, 1853.

My dear M.,—It is said that everything depends on a great muster at the Captain's on the morning of the 31st. A great muster will be better for us at this moment than a great division.

To ensure this, all his men ought to be asked to dine with him. He has offered only three dinners; the cards are out, they will only include ninety of his followers. There wanted nine dinners. The cards should all be out; if the dinners took place a month hence it would not matter. What they want is to be asked to their leader's, and to have their cards meeting them on their arrival in town.

You must remember this is a new Parliament, full of *new men who have never entered his house*, for last year *he gave no dinners at all*, from domestic circumstances.

Those who understand these things have all been to me to say, how critical this is; every man who is not asked is offended. I cannot mention these matters to him; you are the only person who can.

Lord Salisbury [1] also should be asked to invite the men. His dinners last year did great good, when our fortunes were darkest.

I have given the 'Press' another 500*l.*, which will keep them till the end of March; during the interval, we must consult as to the course we ought to pursue. The sale increases greatly, and its influence: but the expenses do not much diminish. You had better keep the subscriptions you have received till we meet and consult over this.

The enclosed will show you that the *actual sale* has increased six hundred per week since I left Hughenden in November.

Yours,

D.

January 29th.—Returned to Heron Court. We have had great shooting at Knowsley.

[1] This Marquis of Salisbury died 1868.

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January 31*st.*—Lord Anson and Mr. Bentinck arrived; we three went out duck shooting on the Moor's river, and killed 166 teal. I record this feat because I believe it to be unequalled with three ordinary guns. They were in thousands after a long flood throughout November and December.

From the Emperor Napoleon to Lord Malmesbury.

Aux Tuileries : le 7 février 1853.

Mon cher Lord Malmesbury,—Je ne veux pas laisser partir le Comte Walewski, sans le charger pour vous d'un petit mot pour vous exprimer ma reconnaissance pour tous les bons procédés que vous avez eus pour moi pendant votre passage aux affaires; combien je vous ai regretté, ainsi que vos collègues. Néanmoins, je pense que tous les hommes de bon sens comprendront comme vous (et les nouveaux ministres m'en ont déjà donné des preuves) que mon désir le plus fervent est de maintenir avec votre pays, que j'ai toujours tant aimé, les relations les plus amicales et les plus intimes.

Recevez, mon cher Lord Malmesbury, l'assurance de ma sincère amitié.

NAPOLÉON.

February 7*th.*—Austria sends Count de Leiningen to the Sultan to force him to evacuate Montenegro, which he does with great loss. Other humiliating demands are made. The Emperor Nicholas follows in his wake, and sends Prince Menschikoff to claim full authority over the Holy Places, over which Lavalette, the French Ambassador, had assumed partial privileges and protectorship for the Latin Church.

February 10*th.*—I went up for the meeting of Parliament.

February 11*th.*—Parliament met. Lord Aberdeen made a weak speech in the House of Lords, refusing to give any

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information as to his future measures. Lord John, in the Commons, announced that Reform was given up for this session, and the income tax would be continued for a year as it is at present. Disraeli gave notice that next Monday he would ask Sir Charles Wood whether the report of his speech at Halifax, so abusive of Louis Napoleon, is correct.

February 12th.—Very heavy fall of snow. Returned to Heron Court.

Lord M. to Louis Napoleon.

Heron Court: February 15, 1853.

Sir,—I hasten to acknowledge to your Majesty the sincere pleasure with which I received the honour of your Majesty's kind letter. When I left office, the experience I had there gained of foreign affairs had impressed me with the deepest conviction that the respective interests of England and France, and the general happiness of the European populations, depend mainly on the friendly alliance of our two countries, and that as long as such an alliance exists they are both all-powerful.

It therefore gave me the greatest satisfaction to learn from Lord John Russell's own lips that he was most anxious to maintain, as regards your Majesty, the same policy which I had considered it my duty and a pleasure to follow.

I have the honour, &c., &c.

MALMESBURY.

February 23rd.—Lord Anson arrived. He had scarcely entered the house when an extraordinary tornado suddenly took place, lasting only about five minutes, but its violence was such that I expected the roof to be blown off. The thermometer went down ten degrees in that time. The weather had been perfectly calm and mild all day up to the moment when this gust arose. It did great damage, cutting, as it were, a narrow lane through the woods of about fifty yards wide, and destroying everything before it.

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February and March.—An attempt has been made on the Emperor of Austria's life by a refugee, and the Austrians' hatred to us has increased to such a degree that Count Buol has been obliged to send a police force to Lord Westmoreland's, our Ambassador's, house to protect him from the mob.

March 7th.—I went to London. An outbreak has taken place at Milan, repressed with great rigour and cruelty. The Ticinese Swiss, to the number of some thousands, are expelled from Lombardy. Mazzini not to be found. His always escaping the foreign police is very suspicious. He left England on January 2, four days after Lord Derby's Government resigned. He is said to be very clever at disguises; but I can hardly understand it, as I met him at Madame Parodi's, and he is more terribly marked with the smallpox than any one I ever saw, with piercing black eyes, and much resembling Ugolino Foscolo.

G. Harris to Lord M.

Vienna: March 14, 1853.

My dear Fitz,—Perhaps you may not dislike to hear a *can-can* or two from the Chancellerie of H.M. Legation here.

. . . . . .

It appears that Manteuffel made a most insolent demand (insolent *au fond*, not *quant à la forme*)—viz. that our Foreign Office passports should give the personal description of the bearers. Lord Clarendon, in reply, refuses most peremptorily, amongst many obvious reasons for this one, that we are not to be dictated to by foreign Powers as to the form of our passports or anything else; the reply in question is evidently Mellish's, and is a stinger.

Lord Westmoreland told me this morning, and I hear the same from everyone else, that the irritation against England is now *au comble*. The Austrians impute everything outrageous and absurd to us; and the revolutionary partisans profess to expect everything

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from England. His lordship said he had received this very day a despatch from Lord Clarendon, authorising him to make use of the *very strongest language* to express the indignation of her Majesty's Government that the refugees should abuse the hospitality of England, and should direct from London their manifestoes, conspiracies, &c., that (the old, old story) our laws were such and such, and our hands as a Government were tied within those laws; lastly, and not least, 'that the Imperial Government must not suppose that the sensible and honest portion of the people of England felt anything else but abhorrence and disgust at the conduct of these conspirators and their agents.'

Several Englishmen have assured me they have been treated lately in travelling in Hungary and Bohemia with *marked civility*. I can say the same for myself, from the moment I crossed the frontier the other side of Prague. The *employés* of the rail and Custom House never opened a portmanteau or anything else, and to the natives and other travellers I observed that they *did*.

I have not yet obtained my *exequatur*. Lord Westmoreland says it will be three weeks before it follows me to Venice; and yet, if he chose to press the matter on Buol, the thing would be done in an instant. Lord Westmoreland is too *bon* for Buol and Co. I go on to-morrow to Trieste, and shall make myself comfortable at Venice *en attendant*.

The Emperor's illness threw all the public business on its beam ends. His Majesty is the War Minister, going through all that frightful routine himself; the accumulation of papers was such at the end of a week that they invented the *alter ego*, the Archduke Francis William. On the 12th his Imperial Majesty went in very simple state to the Cathedral. The whole population turned out in holiday clothes, and the line was kept by the burghers; not a soldier *on duty* was to be seen, except at the church door, three battalions as a guard of honour. The multitude uttered but one mighty cry of '*Vivat!*' The day was lovely. After the Duke's funeral it was one of the grandest spectacles I ever beheld. The Emperor was much *ému*, and his father, who was with him in their little open barouche, roared like a calf. The *attentat* was no joking one. Never man had a narrower escape than his Majesty; if the assassin had not weakened the point of his knife by having the back of it sharpened, and changed it into the lancet form, he must have smashed the Emperor's skull; as it was, the point of the blade bent

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up two inches. His mother, the Archduchess Sophia, got a setting down by asking him never to *walk* again in Vienna, and to take precautions (as of police and military following his carriage and his horse). The Emperor, said Lady Westmoreland, was seriously angry with her; insisted that the subject should never again be mentioned to him. 'Was he to distrust his good, honest Viennese?' This was his Majesty's first quarrel with his mother.

. . . . . .

Yours affectionately,
G. HARRIS.

March 18th.—Started for Paris with Frank Mills, in a gale from N.E. and snow.

March 19th.—Arrived at Paris at 11 P.M. Found an invitation from the Emperor to dine that day.

March 20th.—Went with Lord Cowley to the Tuileries, he having told me that the Emperor wished to see me immediately. Review in the Place du Carrousel. We met in the great room under the clock tower. The Emperor came in soon after with the Empress. Saw me and received me very heartily. He presented me to the Empress, who said she had often heard him speak of me as an old friend. He then went down to mount his horse, and reviewed his troops, who received him very well. The Ministers—Fould, Ducos, and Persigny—came up, and began immediately talking on the subject of Rose's summons to our fleet to the Bosphorus. They seemed to think that England had not acted loyally in the matter, as it ought to have been a simultaneous movement. All I could reply was, that it was the act of Colonel Rose alone, who was a man of great energy; and that although I owed the Government nothing, I must do Lords J. Russell and Clarendon the justice to say that I believed

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they were as anxious as I had been for a French alliance, and that they had approved both in Parliament and privately to me of all my French policy. The Emperor had sent off his fleet at once without choosing to wait for an explanation from England and an answer to Admiral Dundas's request for orders. This act, though notified immediately to Lord Cowley and by him to our Government, was not communicated to Walewski in London, and occasioned great confusion. A Cabinet was called, and Walewski was so positive that the French fleet had not sailed that our Government thought Lord Cowley misinformed. This was a trick of the French Foreign Minister, Drouyn de l'Huys, to spite Walewski, who had, he thought, been intriguing to get his place.

I dined at the Tuileries this evening, and found a great military banquet of all the marshals, generals, and colonels, who had commanded at the review of this morning. The Emperor again thanked me before everybody 'pour ce que j'avais fait pour lui,' alluding to the recognition of the Empire by England, and with a very frank courage, at such a time and place, mentioned my having visited him in his prison at Ham.

I sat by the Empress at dinner. She is still very handsome, with a beautiful bust and shoulders, and small hands and feet. Hair auburn. She spoke English easily, and talked to the Emperor in that language when they wished not to be understood. They did this two or three times, forgetting my presence, and laughed heartily at the mistake.

After dinner the etiquette was very stiff, and we stood for two hours. During one of these the Emperor took me to a corner, and spoke on several subjects. He seemed to avoid the details of the Turkish question, which occupied the public

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mind this day, but did not conceal his ill-humour with our Government, and his suspicions that Rose had been ordered to send for the fleet. I begged him to wait for further information, and at all events not to send his fleet beyond Naples, as ours remained at Malta, but he was silent, as he always is when he disagrees. He then asked very anxiously whether the Queen's feelings had changed towards him, being influenced by Lord Aberdeen. I replied that it was very natural that at first she should feel strongly for her Orleanist relations, but that beyond that Her Majesty had no sentiments of enmity against him, and that I had always found Her Majesty alive to the importance of friendly relations with France. He said that that was his earnest wish, that he had even risked his own popularity by enduring the abuse of the English press for a year; that this press infuriated the officers of the army, numbers of whom knew English perfectly; and that it required the whole power he possessed among the provincial masses to enable him to exercise his own judgment and not to be obliged to kick the newspaper correspondents out of Paris.

He said he was most anxious to go *bras à bras* with England on every question, not *pour les beaux yeux* of one another, but for our solid interest; that two great subjects were now paramount—namely, the maintenance of the Turkish Empire and the new International Code broached by America called the 'Monroe Doctrine;' and that these two points comprehended the whole policy of the world, the maintenance of peace, and the advance of human civilisation and improvement. Russia was a barbarous Monarchy, and America a barbarous Republic, but both young, vigorous, *et pleines de sève.*

As to Europe, the safety of the West depended on the

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alliance of France and England; that he had been urged to join in a quadruple alliance against us as a focus of revolutionary doctrines, but he refused, because he knew that if England were to sink, France must be sacrificed to the Northern Powers; and that if his uncle's prophecy respecting the Cossacks were not physically realised, it would be so morally; that even now Austria was the Czar's valet, since he had saved her in Hungary; that, although wearing different forms of government, as different nations wear a different cut of coat—England, France, Sardinia, Spain, and Portugal, all had the same foundation for their governments —namely, public opinion and the will of the people, more or less developed; whilst the other great European States and Italy had no law but the fancy of the divine autocrat who ruled them.

As to himself, his whole power came from the people, and if he lost their confidence he could not exist an hour. The difference of government, therefore, was not so great between France and England as our newspapers said it was. We did not make sufficient allowance for the Revolution of 1848, which prostrated the country and was felt by all France to be only the forerunner of the Reign of Terror prepared for 1852 by Mazzini, Louis Blanc, &c.; that it was natural for John Bull, who had never seen a drop of bloodshed, and read of 1688 as a romance, to enjoy the diatribes of the 'Times' over his breakfast, and calling him a tyrant, not to perceive that whatever he (Napoleon) was, he was the *consequence of the events of* 1848.

He went on to repeat his desire to be inseparable from England, but added: 'The great difficulty is your form of Government, which changes the Queen's Ministers so often and so suddenly. It is such a risk to adopt a line of policy

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with you, as one may be left in the lurch by a new Administration.'

I replied that I saw no danger in this, as far as France was concerned, because he knew what Lord Derby's had been, that no more Conservative or Tory Administration could ever be in power again, and that the animus of the Radical party was almost hostile to Russia and Austria; that there was no possibility of any English Ministry joining in a coalition against France, unless he played his uncle's game again. He said, 'Bah! you know my opinion long ago on that subject!' He lamented the conduct of Austria in Italy, and said it was impossible it could go on, and that it would be a great advantage if we could agree upon granting her an equivalent somewhere else—but where? There seemed none but some Turkish province. He said Italy gave him great anxiety, and especially Austria's insolence to Sardinia. The Emperor of Austria was a very energetic and clever man, and would make a figure. I remarked that I believed him to be ambitious, and that Buol did not attempt to control him. He agreed, and abused Buol's character, adding that he had that day received from him a letter full of flattery. I said I thought the Emperor Nicholas loyal and trustworthy. Upon which he observed: 'Plus prudent que loyal!'

The Emperor then suddenly broke into the question of refugees in England, stating his opinion that sooner or later it would bring us into a quarrel with other States. I answered, that as we knew that half of them were rascals we should be very glad to be rid of them. Every country had its subject on which no cession could be made. The Holy Places in the East was that of Russia, the Refugees was ours, and it was useless to torment us

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about an impossibility, for no English Minister could alter the law at present. He said, 'I do not care about their meetings, speeches, and proclamations, but they are a nest of assassins. You know I am neither fanciful nor timid, but I give you my word of honour that three men have been successively arrested within fifty yards of me armed with daggers and pistols. The last fired at the gendarme and wounded him. I have taken great pains to have these attempts hushed up. These men all came straight from England, and had not been twelve hours in France. Your police should have known it and given me notice.' I reminded him that I had done so. 'Oui, mais pas vos successeurs.' And then he added, 'Can I believe their protestations, when Graham and Wood spoke as they did of me at Halifax and Carlisle?[1] Their excuses are nonsense. One of three things: either they are fools, which is not the case, or they really felt what they said, which, being Cabinet Ministers, is very serious for me, or they abused me to please their audience, which is still worse, as it would imply that the English people are hostile to me. However, I shall act in public, as I have always done in private life, treating Governments as they treat me, and I believe what you say of Lord John Russell; but what of Lord Aberdeen?'

I replied I would only answer for the two I had mentioned, not having had any relations with the others.

He then spoke of old times and of his mother with great affection, saying the thing he regretted most was her not living to see him where he was. He alluded to the

[1] Their speeches, whether from a moral or political point of view, were perfectly unpardonable, being suggestive of any crime which an ignorant man might mistake for patriotism.

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offer he had made to the Princess of Hohenlohe, and asked me what I thought of the Empress. He said he had no time to lose, if he was to leave an heir grown up. The revenue had increased sixty millions of francs in 1852, and this quarter was already ten millions above the corresponding one of last year. He had greatly improved Paris, and in two years his system of railways would be completed if he could preserve peace. He desired me to thank Lord Derby for his policy, and concluded by saying, 'The English are manly enemies and manly friends, and that is more than I can say for others.' I put the above conversation on paper as soon as I returned to my hotel, so I can answer for its being almost textually correct.

The Empress asked me a great many questions about the Emperor's former health, whether 'he was subject to headaches.' I suggested that these hot rooms were enough to give headaches to anybody who worked hard, and she said they both suffered from them, but that nothing could cool the Tuileries. She spoke of his assassination as a thing talked of, but to her conviction impossible; that she had not the least fear about it, and that they walked about alone at St. Cloud, and meant to do so.

In a conversation with Marshal Vaillant, who commanded at the siege of Rome, and Marshal Magnan, who carried out the *coup d'état* of the 2nd December, they stated that the army would dislike going to war with Russia for the question of the Holy Places.

Marshal Vaillant showed an evident jealousy and dislike of England. Some of the colonels expressed a contrary feeling, but all are imbued with the idea that any alliance with us must be unstable, in consequence of our constant change of Ministry, and they viewed the organisation of our militia

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as dangerous to ourselves, misjudging it from their experience of their National Guard.

Although the banquet and establishment of courtiers and servants was as splendid as possible, there was a feeling in the air which impressed me with the idea that the whole pageant must be ephemeral. I cannot explain this sentiment, unless it was that I observed that the members of the household appeared not to have perfectly learnt their parts, and also that, having seen and known the Emperor for so many years in such a totally different position, his present one looked like a dream or a play; but when each actor becomes acclimatised by time, it will be a magnificent Court, with a Sovereign who will command the attention of all Europe.

March 21st.—Dined with Frank Mills at the Trois Frères, the famous *café* in the Palais Royal, established during the Reign of Terror by three brothers who came from Provence. I had spent the day in leaving cards on the officials.

March 22nd.—Dined with the Cowleys.

March 23rd.—Dined with Nat. Rothschild. Kisseleff there.[1] Said to be in great favour with his master, Nicholas. Saw the Duc de Guiche,[2] going as Minister to Turin. Has orders to support Sardinia.

March 26th.—Dined at Cowley's. Had a long conversation with Kisseleff. He said that the men in the secret of the *coup d'état* were Morny, Magnan, Maupas, Persigny, and

[1] Russian Ambassador at Paris.

[2] Afterwards Duc de Gramont and Foreign Minister in 1870.

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a Captain Fleury. Count Flahault (the father of Morny) knew nothing about it, and this Drouyn de l'Huys assured me was the case. He certainly denied it himself. Morny and the Emperor had secured to themselves a refuge in the event of a failure with a woman devoted to them.[1] At the Prince de Lieven's I met Molé, Duchâtel, and other Orleanists.

March 28th.—Dined with Persigny, Cowleys, Fould, &c. Long conversation with Persigny on French affairs. He is strong for an English alliance. He opposed the marriage with the Empress, and still says it was a great mistake. This reminds me of a circumstance when the Emperor was an exile in London five years ago. He one day walked me twice round Berkeley Square, inquiring if I thought he should have any chance of being accepted by Lady Clementina Villiers if he proposed to her. I could not give him any encouragement, as I knew Lady Jersey had a particular dislike to him, and avoided showing him any civility.[2]

March 29th.—Dined with Drouyn de l'Huys. Fifty-two covers. Deputation from the City recommending peaceful policy were present, with Gurney the Quaker and Sir John Duke. French Ministers and Emperor very much pleased at it. It was got up by De l'Huys and Mr. Powles, and signed by 4,000 names. The object was to neutralise the effect of Sir Charles Wood's abominable speech at Halifax and the articles in the 'Times' against the Emperor. That

[1] This was Madame Favart de l'Anglade, a creole, who lived some time at Kensington Gate, and used to give excellent dinners and whist parties.

[2] A strong trait in the Emperor's character was that he always returned kindness and civilities, and *vice versâ*. When Lady Jersey went to Paris he would not invite her to the Tuileries.

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journal has received such representations from its commercial customers at Manchester that it has abated its tone. I sat by Madame de Bourqueney. He is gone as Ambassador to Vienna. Ducos, Minister of Marine, spoke anxiously in favour of an English alliance, but I know him to be naturally hostile, and he and Changarnier concocted a plan in 1851 for a piratical descent on England, and for seizing the Queen's person at Osborne, they said, for their amusement only.

Lavalette is just recalled from the Embassy at Constantinople, where his zeal involved France in the question of the Holy Places. He intimated to me that he had 'been thrown over.' He is anti-English; abused Lord Stratford's temper. The fact is that the Emperor Louis Napoleon does not realise that upon the subject of the Holy Shrines, Nicholas (who is Pope and Head of the Greek Church) cannot possibly give way, and encouraged Lavalette in preposterous demands and language to the Sultan, and is now obliged to draw back and recall him. M. de la Tour, a conciliatory man, succeeds him.

March 30*th*.—Dined at the Tuileries with the Eglintons and Clanricarde. The ladies seemed to me very *provincial*, and not at their ease. The Emperor in good spirits and as gay as etiquette permits.

March 31*st*.—Breakfasted with Drouyn de l'Huys.

April 1*st*.—I returned to London in a gale of wind.

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Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. Leonards: April 5, 1853.

My dear Malmesbury,—I have no wish whatever that the Canterbury Election debate should be put off on account of my absence. I assume that the evidence taken before the Commons has been communicated to us, and that it is of such a character as to form a sufficient *primâ facie* ground for further inquiry. It cannot be our interest to screen cases of notorious corruption, or even to prevent the disfranchisement of boroughs notorious for their venality. Whether the case of Canterbury is strong enough for this, I know not. I should rather doubt it.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. Leonards: April 7, 1853.

My dear Malmesbury,—I shall most probably be in the House on this day week, but I shall only just get there, coming from Knowsley that morning, and arriving at Euston Square at four o'clock; therefore I should not have wished any great debate to stand for that day. I have no wish that the discussion on the Canterbury case, as I wrote you word yesterday, should be put off in consequence of my absence. I was aware of the technical difficulty which will be raised, but hope it may be got over. It cannot, as I apprehend, be any obstacle to our joining in an Address with the House of Commons, praying that a Commission may be instituted; but it may raise awkward difficulties with respect to the powers legally vested in that Commission, if not strictly in fulfilment of the Act of last year. I have not the Act before me, and cannot, therefore, exactly say how far the deviation is fatal. But I should think, if there is any doubt, that our best plan would be to join in the Address, and at the same time to introduce a bill giving the same powers to the Commissioners as would have been given had the Act of last year been strictly followed, reciting the informality which rendered such a course necessary. Perhaps you would suggest this from me to Lords Lyndhurst and St. Leonards for their consideration. Whatever is done, do not let the House of Lords, and

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especially our friends in it, have the appearance of raising technical objections for the purpose of stifling searching inquiry.

Yours sincerely,

DERBY.

April 15*th.*—Government beaten last night on motion for taking tax off advertisements. Disraeli supported it, saying the late Government had intended to take it off. Gladstone opposed it, and they were beaten by 31. There were two other divisions to take off the duty on papers and newspapers which our party opposed and supported the Government in defeating the Radicals.

April 16*th.*—Lord Derby in great spirits, and quite approving of all that Disraeli had done. We gave a party this evening, which was much more crowded than the last.

April 17*th.*—Government have Cabinet Councils almost every day and are in difficulties.

April 21*st.*—Budget will probably pass. The extension of legacy duty to real property secures the support of the Radicals.

April 29*th.*—Jew Bill thrown out by 49 in House of Lords, in spite of Lord Aberdeen changing.

April 30*th.*—Lord Seymour is made Chairman of the Committee to inquire into the navy appointments under the Duke of Northumberland, and he says it is a bad business for Mr. Stafford, who was our Secretary for the Admiralty, and the whole of the late Government; Mr. Stafford having told Sir Baldwin Walker that the appointments complained

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of had been forced upon him by Lord Derby and Disraeli. Mr. Stafford has behaved foolishly, for he got very well out of the scrape before the House of Commons; Lord John Russell and others having admitted that he had quite vindicated his character. Instead of being satisfied, he must needs make an attack upon Sir B. Walker, who, having some friends in the House, they asked for a committee, and the result is that Mr. Stafford and Lord Derby's colleagues will be much damaged.

May 2nd.—I attended at the Navy Board Committee. Heard Mr. Stafford's evidence. Weak and unsatisfactory. Lord Derby has written to offer to be examined before the Committee, if they are not satisfied that he had nothing to do with the appointments of the Admiralty.

May 3rd.—Government had a majority of 71 upon the income tax, and of course they will carry the whole Budget.

May 4th.—Mr. Stafford's evidence tends very much to criminate him and exculpate the Government. It is evident that the Duke of Northumberland gave up to him the whole patronage of the dockyard, and there was a jealous squabble between him, Sir B. Walker, and Admiral Hyde Parker on the subject. Disraeli has written to ask to be examined.

May 20th.—Government were beaten yesterday in the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Spooner to refuse 1,235*l.* for the repairs of Maynooth College. Lord John Russell supported the grant, and was beaten by 74 to 54.

I hear that Mrs. Sidney Herbert has had herself and two children painted as a Holy Family.

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Lord Derby to Lord M.

St. Leonards: May 22, 1853.

My dear Malmesbury,—I *do* dine at Pembroke College on Thursday, the 9th, and hope you will be able to meet me there. By all means execute your purpose of taking Lady Malmesbury over to Germany on the 11th. We shall miss you in the House of Lords, but that is a secondary consideration, and it would neither do for her to give up her journey nor to undertake so long a one without an escort. I suppose you will be back before the end of the session. I shall be in town to-night, as I have to attend at the Trinity House at ten to-morrow morning. I shall, however, be in the House, as the usual dinner is postponed. I think you should ask a question as to the affairs of Turkey, but without entering on any discussion, or making more of a speech than to refer to the reports prevalent and ask what foundation there is for them, and what line the Government have adopted. I think matters look very threatening. I congratulate you on the Paraguay treaty, for to you belongs the merit of it, though I suppose the present men will claim it.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

May 23rd.—Went to Lady Breadalbane's ball; 1,500 people there. Lord Breadalbane bought a house in Grosvenor Street, through which an entrance was made expressly for the cloaks and hats, and built two rooms of zinc for the dancing and supper.

There is no longer any doubt that Lords Aberdeen and Clarendon have been completely deceived by Brünnow. The news from the East is very alarming, and still they will not believe that the Emperor has played them false.

Prince Menschikoff only gives the Sultan to the 16th proximo to decide whether he accepts or refuses his ultimatum. Lord Stratford having no instructions, has referred to the Government at home.

May 27th.—Telegraphic despatch says that relations

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have ceased between the Turkish Government and Prince Menschikoff. This ought to open Lord Aberdeen's eyes.

May 28th.—I spoke yesterday on the Turkish difficulty. Lord Clarendon's reply was feeble, and he evidently spoke against the grain when he assured the House that the Government meant to support Turkey, and that our Ambassador at Constantinople was acting cordially with that of France.

May 29th.—Prince Menschikoff, it is said, has left Constantinople. Lord Clarendon is very uneasy, but Lord Aberdeen, with childish obstinacy, refuses to believe that Russia intends any aggression, and will not send our fleet to Constantinople.

I met Lord Palmerston in Pall Mall this afternoon; he stopped me to speak to him, and began at once upon the departure of Prince Menschikoff. He walked his horse by me till we got to Waterloo Place, where we stopped and talked for a quarter of an hour. Lord Palmerston spoke very openly on the subject, on which his policy quite agrees with ours. He is for decided measures against Russia, so that between him and Lord Aberdeen there is a complete difference of opinion.

May 30th.—Lord Hardwicke asked whether any orders had been sent to the English fleet to move. Lord Clarendon refused to give any answer. Disraeli put same question in Commons, and Lord John Russell angrily refused all information. The question is to be decided to-morrow at the Cabinet. It is well known they are divided on the subject.

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June 2nd.—It is reported that the English fleet is sent to Constantinople. Lord Hardwicke, who knows Prince Menschikoff, says that he was in the navy, and that in some engagement a cannon ball passed between his legs without injuring him.

June 3rd.—Walewski and Brünnow are naturally in a state of great anxiety as to whether the Government will go to war. The former, who constantly sees Palmerston, hopes and believes they will, but Brünnow is sanguine that Aberdeen will not do so, and they respectively are constantly applying to me for an opinion. I always give them the same answer—namely, that 'the strongest character of the two, which, undoubtedly is Palmerston's, will prevail.'

There is a circumstance which I think must strongly influence Lord Aberdeen at this moment; which is, that when the Emperor Nicholas came to England in 1844, he, Sir Robert Peel (then Prime Minister), the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Aberdeen (then Foreign Secretary), drew up and signed a memorandum, the spirit and scope of which was to support Russia in her legitimate protectorship of the Greek religion and the Holy Shrines, and to do so without consulting France.

When Lord Derby's Government came in, at first I was unable to understand the mysterious allusions which Brünnow made now and then, and which he retracted when he saw that either I knew nothing of this paper or that I desired to ignore it. Since it was composed and written, the position of affairs in Europe has totally changed, and is even reversed. In 1840 the events in the East had then totally estranged England and France from one another, and Louis Napoleon did not exist as a factor in European policy. Now

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he is Emperor of the French, and the Duke and Peel are dead, yet it is not unnatural to believe that Nicholas, finding Lord Aberdeen Prime Minister, and the sole survivor of the three English statesmen, should feel that the moment had arrived, so long wished for by Russia, to fall upon Turkey. His menacing conversations with Sir Hamilton Seymour began the moment Lord Derby resigned and not before, and at the same time Menschikoff's arrogant demands were made.[1] He believes that Lord Aberdeen never will join France against him, and probably thinks Palmerston stultified by the drudgery of the Home Office to which he is relegated. It is now quite certain that the Government cannot make up their minds what to do about Turkey, and that when Lord Aberdeen affirmed in the House that the only question between Russia and Turkey was that of the Holy Shrines, he was quite aware that a note had been presented by Menschikoff on March 2, making much more exorbitant demands.

It was refused at once by the Porte, and from the length of time that elapsed before any new proposal, it is clear that Menschikoff sent to his Court for instructions. Lord Clarendon's speech expressing 'perfect confidence' in the Emperor of Russia was made on April 25, so neither he nor Lord Aberdeen could be ignorant of the note of March 22.

June 8th.—Saw Clarendon and Brünnow; both very low.

June 9th.—I returned from Oxford, where I attended Lord

[1] All the actors are now (1884) dead, and as all the events connected with them have passed away for ever, I see no reason against publishing the above facts from my journal.

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Derby's installation as Chancellor. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm. He spoke magnificently, and did the whole thing with great dignity and grace, looking very *distingué* in his Chancellor's robes. He delivered his Latin oration without notes, and the learned critics agreed that they could only find two trifling faults in it. The two Ministers who were best received by the undergraduates were Lord Eglinton and Disraeli.

June 13*th.*—Lady M. and I started for Germany, and reached Ghent that day.

June 15*th.*—Left Lady M. at Cologne on her way to Carlsbad, and returned to London.

June 25*th.*—Found things looking very warlike, Government quarrelling among themselves; but, as we are doing the same, the India Bill will pass. Our party are angry with Disraeli, which is constantly the case; and they are also displeased with Lord Stanley, suspecting him to be coquetting with the Manchester party.

June 30*th.*—Lord Clanricarde brought forward the whole Turkish question. Dinner at Lady Jersey's, and a party at the Palace for the young Prince's christening.

August 2*nd.*—Queen returns to London to give a ball to the Grand Duchess Olga, who has arrived in England and has been recommended to Her Majesty's protection by an autograph letter from her father the Emperor—an odd proceeding at this moment, unless he has sent her Imperial Highness on a sort of mission, which is possible and quite in

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accordance with Russian policy; but, to use Lord Clarendon's phrase, 'We are drifting into a war.'

August 16*th.*—Left London, and reached Achnacarry the following day.

August 20*th.*—It is announced by Lord J. Russell to the House of Commons that the note agreed upon at Vienna by the four Powers had been agreed to by Russia, but it was still unknown what answer the Porte will give. 'It is a most disgraceful business for this country, for it appears by his own showing that the note above mentioned is a French one, altered by Austria, and submitted to the Emperor of Russia without Turkey having been consulted; and not only is there no mention made of the evacuation of the Danubian Provinces, but there is every reason to believe that the note is, with a slight modification, virtually the same as that which England and France advised Turkey to reject a short time ago.

September 11*th.*—Still at Achnacarry, with a party deer-stalking and fishing. Government in great difficulties, as they are divided into a peace and war party; but from what I know of Palmerston, and from the conversation I had with him in London, I feel certain that the latter will prevail. The 'Times' writes very gloomily. It publishes Reschid Pasha's note to the four Powers, by which it appears that, though in the note agreed upon at Vienna nothing was said about the evacuation by Russia of the Danubian Provinces, the Porte makes that the first condition of accepting the note, and insists on a guarantee against any future invasion of these provinces, so the question seems as far from being settled as ever.

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September 23rd.—A very warlike article in the 'Morning Post,' evidently written by order of Walewski, saying that the Emperor of Russia does not interpret the Vienna note in the sense of the four Powers, but as granting him all that Menschikoff's ultimatum demanded. The hesitations and equivocations of our Government lower England in the eyes of Europe.

October 8th.—The papers say that the Turks have declared war against the Russians, and that Lord Westmoreland told the Emperor at Olmütz that England would not support Turkey, if he would not consider the entrance of the combined fleets into the Dardanelles a *casus belli*. This is incredible, for Lord Aberdeen would never have sent instructions to that effect. The feeling for the Turks is increasing in England, and several meetings have been held, at which addresses have been agreed upon urging the Government to interfere more vigorously in their behalf.

October 12th.—I believe it has been decided at the last Cabinet to support the Turks by force of arms in case of a war between them and Russia, and to withdraw the note agreed upon at the Vienna Conference. The return of Captain Inglefield is announced from the Arctic regions with the intelligence of the safety of Captain McClure, who started four years ago to look for Franklin. His ship, the 'Investigator,' had been frozen up nine months, and he was just preparing to desert her and attempt the journey south on foot, when his party met one from Captain Kellett's ship, which was sent in search of him. They came by Baffin's Bay, Captain McClure by Behring's Straits. So

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the North-west Passage has been discovered at last, and Captain McClure has the credit of it. His despatches are very interesting, and show him to be a man of indomitable courage and energy.

October 20th.—Grantley Berkeley arrived (at Achnacarry), and was as agreeable as he always is; but considering his great reputation as a sportsman, he did nothing in deer-stalking, being past the age for walking over Lochiel's mountains. The Emperor Nicholas, when he heard that the Turks had declared war against him, swore it should be one of extermination.

October 24th.—The only news to-day is the recall of the French Minister from Naples, in consequence of an offence given him by the King. The Emperor had sent three French officers to assist at the review as a compliment to the King, but one of them being suspected of having written a pamphlet which displeased him, he had them all put under quarantine to prevent their attending the review. They returned immediately to France in a fury, and the Emperor recalled his Ambassador at once. The Princess Esterhazy, Lady Jersey's daughter, is said to be dying; she is gone to Torquay.

October 28th.—I killed a good stag, at 168 yards—a running shot through the head (luck, of course)—yet he recovered by the time the dogs and men got up to him and made a good fight, shaking off the hounds several times, charging one of the gillies, and tearing his clothes with his antlers. Berkeley killed a *salmo ferox* weighing 18 lbs. in Loch Arkaig. No news, but the Government is trying to

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persuade Prussia to be '*bonâ fide* neutral,' as she is sending arms to Russia.

November 4th.—A large detachment of the Turkish army has crossed the Danube, and it was expected that they would attack the Russians the following day, 28th ult. There has been a battle between the latter and the Circassians, in which the Russians were at first beaten, but were reinforced, and the Circassians retreated with the loss of two thousand men.

November 5th.—Went to the forest of Gerraran (a primæval wood, stretching along the shores of Loch Arkaig) and killed a magnificent stag with twelve points, a cup on each horn, and double brow antlers. This wood and that of Gusach, lining the shore of Loch Arkaig, are certainly primæval. The hill is clothed with immense pines, and with almost impenetrable heather. Among the *débris* of centuries and in an older stratum lie many gigantic oaks; one I measured was sixty feet long and perfectly sound. They were evidently the ancient possessors of the mountain, before the younger generation of the red pine usurped their place.

November 9th.—Left Achnacarry by Spean Bridge and Loch Laggan. Slept at Perth. Reached Chillingham next day.

November 11th.—It is evident from Vienna news that the Turks have gained a victory near Giurgevo.

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Sir Charles Hotham to Lord M.

St. James's Hotel: November 11, 1853.

Dear Lord Malmesbury,—I scarcely had returned to England when the Duke of Newcastle proposed that I should accept the Government of Victoria. My previous habits in no way qualified me for such employment, and I endeavoured to convince both his Grace and the Prime Minister that a better selection might without any difficulty be made. Failing in those quarters, I sought assistance from Lord Clarendon, and prayed to be sent back to the River Plate, in the same rank I before held, assigning as my reason that the French had already a Minister Plenipotentiary there. Here also I failed, and notwithstanding my entire conviction that the Government were mistaken, I had either to decline serving the public or comply with their wishes. Thus placed, I accepted the latter alternative, and with a sorrowful heart go to Victoria.

For whatever little reputation I may have recently gained I am indebted to your lordship, and, anxious that you should understand my sudden change of profession, I have ventured to communicate these particulars to your lordship.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

CHAS. HOTHAM.[1]

November 12th.—I killed a wild bull in Chillingham Park. He staggered a few paces and then fell, stone dead, shot through the heart. Lady Olivia Ossulston made a very good sketch of him.

The 'Times' says that the Russians lost fourteen superior officers, killed. This last battle was fought between Omar Pasha and General Dannenberg.

[1] In 1852 I had sent Captain Sir Charles Hotham to carry out negotiations for opening up the River Plate, in which he was entirely successful. He was a most intelligent man, devoted to his profession, in which he bore a very high character as an officer and a seaman, and it is impossible to understand why the Duke of Newcastle should have thus acted against his inclinations and have forced him to leave it. He did not long survive his colonial appointment.

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November 15th.—I went to London on my way to Paris. There is no doubt that the Russians were repulsed again at Oltenitza.

November 22nd.—The Duke of Beaufort is dead, and also Princess Sarah Esterhazy, and also the young and beautiful Queen of Portugal, on the 16th, in her confinement. I went to Paris.

November 23rd.—Paris. Dinner at Persigny's, who is married to Marshal Ney's grand-daughter. She is handsome and lively; he, very uxorious. He is uneasy about Aberdeen, whom all the Bonapartists know to be hostile to Louis Napoleon. They are all very anxious that Palmerston should counteract this feeling. I reassured them as well as I could by a comparison with respect to the character of the two men. I am going to Fontainebleau to-morrow, where I am invited till the 30th.

November 24th.—Suffered so severely with toothache all night that I thought I could not go, and, not knowing any dentist at Paris, and my train starting at 10 A.M., I went to the Palais Royal and found the charlatan as usual carrying on his trade of tooth-drawer, dressed in his scarlet coat. He operated on me most successfully, and, on my giving him five francs, called me 'Mon prince.' Went to Fontainebleau in the same compartment as Marshal St. Arnaud and General Niel. The former was one of the conspirators for the *coup d'état*. He was said to be a brave but unscrupulous soldier, and one of Louis Napoleon's most useful partisans. He distinguished himself in the African wars, and was in the armies of the First Empire. He is an active and good-looking

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man, with a strong *ton de garnison* and a good deal of ready wit. It is said he will command the French army in the coming war. He amused me with several stories of the camp, the following among others. An old general, a friend of his, came to him after the battle of Bautzen, saying that his soldier servant was killed, and commanding him to get him another—'Pas de ces vieux grognards, mais un gentil petit conscrit, bien compris.' St. Arnaud found him a raw recruit. The general had lost an arm and a leg, which he had replaced artificially, and when he undressed he told his new valet to pull off his coat. The lad obeyed, and pulled at the stuffed arm, and the general unhooking the apparatus, the young soldier went reeling into the corner. But though much frightened, he said nothing. 'A présent, mon pantalon, mon ami,' when the same thing occurred; the stuffed leg coming off in the boy's hand, sending him flat on his back at the end of the apartment. Still he said nothing, but when the general told him, 'Maintenant, ma perruque,' he could stand it no longer, exclaiming, 'Le plus souvent, mon général, pour que votre sacrée tête me reste dans les mains.' General Niel, a distinguished engineer officer, was quite of another stamp, and appeared to me superior to his comrade, though very stiff and pompous. They neither of them seemed to have much heart in the work that was before them, openly expressing their opinions that France could gain nothing by a war with Russia, and that the Turks would be very disagreeable allies. They were very complimentary to me as to our army; the principal fault of their own, they said, was a want of good non-commissioned officers.

The Court at Fontainebleau is magnificent. A servant in the royal livery sat all day outside my door. And the palace is so immense that it is quite a journey from one

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part to another. The dinner was on the same scale. After it was finished, I had a long conversation with the Emperor, and I was rather surprised to hear him repeatedly calling the Turks 'Bêtes—des amis si bêtes que cela!' He expressed again his wish for Palmerston at the head of our Government.

November 25th.—Rode in the forest with Madame de Pierre, an American, Lady-in-waiting to the Empress, Lord Cowley, and M. de Toulangeon. Disappointed in the forest, excepting in that part called 'Le Bosquet du Roi,' where the trees and rocks are very fine.

Lord Henry Lennox arrived, said by the French to have come on a mission to propose a marriage between young Jerôme and Princess Mary of Cambridge. I hope this is not true for the sake of Her Royal Highness, for whom I have great respect and admiration.

November 26th.—A grand shooting party in an enclosed space of ground. A squadron of Hussars marched up when we arrived and dismounted to act as beaters. Sky-blue uniform and red trousers. As they wore spurs they were constantly tripping up. There were a great number of pheasants and some roe-deer; the latter unable to escape, being fenced in. The guns were the Emperor, Chaumont, Toulangeon, Edgar Ney, Colonel Fleury, Prince Napoleon, Marshal Magnan, Lord Cowley, and myself. We bagged 210 head. More than one Hussar was peppered, upon which his comrades cried out, 'Tiens, tu as de la chance, toi! tu seras décoré.' The Emperor shot very well, and was most civil to Lord Cowley and me.

Conversations in the evenings with Drouyn, Persigny,

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and the Emperor. Speaking of our Government and their delays, he said, 'Why does this drag on so long? why is it not settled? Your Government first would not go to Besika, then would not go to the Dardanelles. When you were at Malta you should have been at Besika; at Besika when you should have been at Constantinople; and at the latter when you should have been in the Black Sea. The Turkish fleet is bad, and incapable of fighting alone. Your Admiral Dundas threatened to retire if they attempted to fight alone in the Black Sea. The Russians have fourteen sail of the line, and have sent their Baltic sailors right through Russia to Sebastopol.'

I combated his idea of the weakness of naval operations, and instanced our war in Spain when we were masters of the sea. Magnan was of the same opinion.

November 27th.—Returned to Paris with Jerôme. No one could be more friendly and kind to me than the Emperor during this visit; but he is evidently very nervous as to the heartiness of Lord Aberdeen's Government, as he has good reason for knowing his personal and political dislike of him. But what makes the most impression on me is the undisguised indifference, if not distaste, of the French people and army to the impending war.

The officers were constantly ridiculing the Turks, and would hardly give them credit for their victories at Citate and Oltenitza; but this is very French.

The Empress looked handsomer than ever, and her manner of receiving her guests and visitors was perfection. She spoke to me a great deal about the Pope at Rome, and the state of the Roman Catholics there and in Ireland. On the question of the excesses of the English Press and its,

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to her, apparent indifference to assassination, I found it hopeless to explain this abuse of our liberty, although I did not tell her the publications in Switzerland against the Emperor are far worse than anything that could be written or tolerated in England, being full of lies and obscenity with regard to him.

December 3rd.—I returned to London. Went with Lady Malmesbury to Knowsley; found Lord Derby laid up with the gout. He amused himself during his confinement by translating the 'Iliad' and fugitive pieces from foreign languages.[1] The last are beautiful, especially Manzoni's 'Ode to Napoleon.'

December 9th.—Disraeli arrived, at which our host seems much bored, because he is obliged to discuss politics with him. Disraeli came into our room and had a conversation before dinner.

December 10th.—Very cold. We went out shooting, and on our return a Cabinet Council was held in Lady Malmesbury's room, which she gave up to us, between Lord Hardwicke, Lord Derby, Mr. Disraeli, and myself. We played at race-horses after dinner, and Lord Derby is as much amused and as eager to win the few shillings of which the pool consists as if it was a real race and heavy stake.

December 12th.—Lady Malmesbury left Knowsley, and Disraeli accompanied her to London. He told her that Lord Derby was extremely anxious to come in again, and full of

[1] These were only printed for Lord Derby's friends, and he gave me a copy.

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fight. There is a report of an engagement in the Black Sea between the Russians and Turks, in which the latter have had their fleet utterly destroyed in the harbour of Sinope, and Osman Pasha, their admiral, taken prisoner to Sebastopol.

December 13*th.*—The French papers seem to doubt the truth of the destruction of the Turkish fleet, as it was safe in the Bosphorus on November 28, and the battle is said to have been fought on the 30th; and it is also suggested that, as a convoy of 5,000 troops had left for Asia on the 26th, this may be the fleet the Russians boast of having destroyed.

December 14*th.*—Disraeli called on Lady Malmesbury, and told her the new Reform Bill was to be a slashing one—fifty-three boroughs disfranchised and members divided between the great towns and counties, the latter being swamped by a ten-pound franchise. Dizzy added in his satirical way that he believed that every town in which there was a statue of Peel was to have a member. He also said that it was entirely a Peelite bill, and had been opposed by all the Whig portion of the Cabinet, that private orders had been given by the Emperor of Russia to Brünnow and Kisseleff to leave London and Paris the moment the allied fleets entered the Black Sea. He seemed to think that this disaster of the Turks would complicate matters very much. Lord Clanricarde has returned from Paris. He declares that Lord Aberdeen has written to the Princess de Lieven, saying that nothing will persuade him to make war against the Emperor of Russia. At all events she says so.

December 15*th.*—Palmerston has resigned[1]—an event of

[1] He returned in ten days, when the Cabinet had sent the fleet into the Black Sea.

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the utmost importance at this moment, for though the motive assigned for his retirement is his disapproval of the Reform Bill, the public will of course suspect the Eastern Question has more to do with it, and will lose all confidence with regard to the way our foreign relations are likely to be conducted.

December 16th.—Lord Aberdeen went to Osborne yesterday to announce the resignation of his colleague to the Queen. Heavy fall of snow.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: December 18, 1853.

My dear Malmesbury,—Your intelligence turned out quite correct as far as Palmerston was concerned, but not so, as it appears, as to Lansdowne, who 'objects to the Bill, but will not break up the Government at this moment'—at least so says Jocelyn, who, I presume, was your informant, but who also wrote to me by the same post. His letter, however, did not reach me till the following morning, and yours arrived only a few minutes before I read in the 'Times,' not only the announcement, but two elaborate articles upon the event, one evidently official, and at which Jocelyn further tells me that Palmerston is much, and justly, annoyed. As *his* lips are sealed, Aberdeen has no business to speak through his newspapers. Palmerston will be, individually, a loss to the Government; but as Lansdowne holds on, I doubt if he will have any following; and on the ground on which his resignation is placed, I am not so sure that it will not give them more numerical support than it will lose them. Jocelyn has proposed to come here about the 28th, and I have charged him to bring me down any details he can, without a breach of confidence. On my part I have had no hesitation in telling Jocelyn in confidence, that my strongest objection is to the assimilation of the county and borough franchise by swamping the former with ten pounders, and that a different arrangement might at the same time give votes to these last if desirable, and supersede the necessity, on the plea for the disfranchisement by wholesale of the small boroughs.

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Foreign affairs look worse and worse. Can you find out what Palmerston says to them?

I am mending and well in myself, but my ankle still very weak and I am hardly allowed to use it. I have not been out of the house since you left it.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

December 21st.—It appears that the Turkish ships destroyed at Sinope were men-of-war, not transports. They were detained in the harbour by a strong N.E. wind, and were at anchor; the Russian fleet, having been informed of this by an Austrian vessel, approached under cover of a thick fog, and when it cleared off the unfortunate Turks saw an overpowering Russian force at the entrance of the bay. They would not, however, surrender, but fought with such bravery and desperation that every one of their ships was destroyed, and the Russians had not a single prize to carry into Sebastopol. The Government is much exercised at the loss of Palmerston. Lord Aberdeen is said to have offered his place (the Home Office) to Sir George Grey or Sir James Graham. Sir George Bowles arrived at Heron Court, and said Lord Palmerston will resume office if his alterations in the Reform Bill are agreed to, and that Lord Aberdeen never returned any answer to Lord Palmerston's letter announcing his resignation.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

Coventry: December 24, 1853.

My dear M.,—I have waited to the last moment to give you the best information I could gather. So far as I can learn or judge, P. has not yet surrendered, notwithstanding the rumours to that effect —yesterday terribly rife.

If he be obdurate, the Cabinet, I still think, will break up.

Yours sincerely,

D.

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December 25th, Heron Court.—I got a letter this morning from Disraeli, saying that Palmerston had resumed office without conditions and that the Peelites were triumphant, saying he had 'done for himself.' Several Cabinet Councils lately lasted above five hours, and it is supposed that Lord Lansdowne is only waiting for the Reform Bill to be laid before the Cabinet to resign, as he did not attend any of them.

December 26th.—Mr. and Mrs. Disraeli, Mr. and Lady Augusta Sturt, and Lord Anson arrived at Heron Court. Disraeli very low at Palmerston's resuming office, as he thinks the Government are now safe. He is very much occupied and pleased with my library, which was compiled by three generations of men of totally different literary tastes. The first, my great-grandfather, usually called 'Hermes,' was a great Grecian and classical scholar, and collected all the most perfect editions of the ancient writers. The second, my grandfather, a diplomatist and politician, added all the best specimens of European authors of the last two centuries, and my father all the most modern literature of his time. What seemed, however, to strike Disraeli more than anything was an autograph journal by my father, recording his sporting pursuits daily for forty years, in which is noted every shot he fired, killed or missed, with a careful memorandum of the weather day by day. Disraeli did not show to advantage, as he is not in spirits, and the party not being all of one mind upon politics, which is the subject which now absorbs him, he never alluded to them except in quiet conversation with Lady Malmesbury or myself.

December 28th.—It is affirmed that Aberdeen and Gladstone have implored Lord Palmerston to return to them; the other Peelites declare that he begged to be let in again.

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1854

January 1st.—I went to Broadlands after luncheon. Nobody there except Lady Shaftesbury, Mr. Milnes, Lord Harry Vane,[1] and Count Bethmann. Lady Palmerston is much aged—falling asleep at dinner and sitting the whole evening wrapped in a shawl. She had a long conversation with me about Turkey, and we agreed very well on that subject.

Lord Lonsdale to Lord M.

January 2, 1854.

Dear Malmesbury,—I hear all the Government think war inevitable except Aberdeen. Brünnow wound up his Government's account with the Bank three weeks since. I told you of it at the time. Brünnow had some Consols of his own, £6,000 (?), and an account at the Bank of England. He settled this on Saturday last, which, I believe, was the cause of the funds going down on that day. There is a man, a shipbuilder at Rotherhithe, who is building the screw frigate steamers for the Emperor of Russia; he received a letter from Palmerston, last Saturday, of warning, upon which the builder went to Brünnow, who saw him, and said he would be prepared to give him an answer to-day. I know a man who has a nephew just come from St. Petersburg; he says there is the greatest enthusiasm amongst all classes for war, which, from my knowledge of the place, I can easily conceive, and that they press all the fine-looking fellows in the country into the army, having no regard for the ladies' coachmen and fine-looking footmen.

I have seen also the uncle of the officer who brought over the despatches a few days since from Admiral Dundas. He fears the Turks will very soon be short of money: that at present the war is supported by the Church and private subscription. This must end soon. The Turks are willing and good soldiers, and individually better than the Russians, but the Russians will outnumber them.

[1] Afterwards Duke of Cleveland.

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It is not thought at Constantinople that Sebastopol can be attacked with success. The French great ship, the 'Napoléon,' of which so much was expected, proved not to be seaworthy, and she is gone home. They would not let a single Englishman on board of her. The Russians have an annoying fort at the entrance of the Danube. I hope our fleet will destroy this. I believe the French will have to send at last an army to defend Constantinople. The opportunity of catching the Russian fleet is lost—no such opportunity *can* ever occur again. The ships at Sinope had on board 45,000 stand of arms and a great quantity of ammunition, destined for Circassia and Asia Minor.

A Whig, who sometimes speaks confidentially, and whom I generally find about the mark, tells me that the quarrel with Palmerston was this: He (Palmerston) differed from Graham and J. Russell upon some portions of the Reform, and he wrote and spoke to Aberdeen, who spoke to Russell and Graham, who adhered to their scheme. Aberdeen then wrote to Palmerston a *snubbing* letter, saying he had spoken to Graham and Russell, and he agreed with them, upon which Palmerston writes a long letter giving all his reasons against this part of the measure, and concluded by resigning. This created consternation, and Clarendon, Granville, and Gladstone, aided by Charles Greville, and Ned Ellice—in fact, the steam was put on in every way to recover the lost sheep. At first Palmerston was obdurate, but kept mollifying, and I believe Sir George Grey was never offered the Home Secretaryship, except on the condition Palmerston would not come back, and Sir George Grey professed great patriotism, that he would not think of it as long as there was any hope of Palmerston.

This Whig told me that the only consolation was, of the present aspect of affairs, that the Eastern Question would shelve the Reform Bill for the present session; that no one wanted it, and, with the exception of one or two in the Cabinet, they wished to get rid of it. He thinks the Government will go to war in earnest and raise a large force.

Faithfully yours,

LONSDALE.

January 3rd.—Returned to Heron Court. Lord Clanwilliam arrived from Wilton very much changed in his feelings towards the Government, as he was a strong Peelite,

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and now he says there is no doubt that Lord Aberdeen's timid policy is the cause of the war with which we are threatened, and that a little determination at first would have stopped the Czar. All the newspapers except the Government organs are making furious attacks upon Prince Albert for interfering in the government of the country, especially in foreign affairs. I believe he wrote a very elaborate paper respecting our position with Turkey, and leaning rather to Lord Aberdeen's view of our policy than to Palmerston's. This must have somehow come out.

January 6th.—I stalked a flock of wild geese behind my pony and got within thirty yards of them, killing five. Very severe weather, with a gale from S.W. and snow.

January 11th.—The combined fleets entered the Black Sea, on the 3rd, it is said.

January 14th.—Rumours of a Russian defeat at Citate fully confirmed. It appears that 15,000 Turks attacked a Russian intrenched position in front of Kalifat and took it by storm. The Russians tried to retake it, and were beaten off, losing 3,000 men.

January 15th.—The most absurd reports are rife concerning Prince Albert, and are believed by the public, even to that of his being sent to the Tower for unconstitutional practices. He is accused of writing letters to turn out Lord Hardinge and take his place as Commander-in-Chief, or at least to share his power and patronage; of giving audiences to the Ministers privately, and thus substituting himself for the Queen. Time will soon do him justice, and convince the

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world that no sovereign could have at his side a better counsellor, removed as he is from all personal disputes of parties.

My own experience would testify to the fact that on no single occasion did I have any audience upon matters of State except with the Queen in person, the Prince standing on her right hand; and if he wrote to me, it was in Her Majesty's name that the opinions or criticisms were given. His information on the wheels within wheels which revolved in the Northern Courts of Europe was invaluable, as being out of the reach of our diplomatists.

His heart is naturally German.

The 'Morning Herald' has an article on the inconsistency of the late Sir Robert Peel, who, while he constantly in public recommended to the capitalists of England to employ their money in Ireland, where they would find the safest security and very profitable investment, had forbidden in his will any portion of his own great wealth to be invested in Irish securities.

January 21st.—Public indignation has been so universally aroused by the manner in which the Russians behaved at Sinope that war has become inevitable, and I have no doubt that the country will carry it on nobly. Nothing can exceed the spirit and patriotism shown by all classes. None seem to have a shadow of fear as to the result. Austria has refused positively to listen to Count Orloff's proposals, and the tone of Prussia is so decided that he will probably not go to Berlin as was at first intended. Omar Pasha is so ill that the Sultan has sent the physician of the French Embassy to him.

January 24th.—Went to London to see Lord Derby before

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he goes to Windsor. The Czar has instructed his Ambassadors to demand whether by the entry of the combined fleets into the Black Sea it is intended to take part with Turkey or remain neutral. In the former case the Russian Ambassadors in London and Paris must demand their passports.

January 25th.—Invited to Windsor.

January 26th.—Had a very pleasant day's shooting in Windsor Park and an amusing play in the evening. The Queen very gracious, speaking to me for some time on the coming war. The Argylls, Bruces, and Palmerstons were there.

January 29th.—Went up to London for the meeting of Parliament, which takes place the 31st.

February 1st.—Parliament met yesterday. Lord Aberdeen made an angry speech on the war, ending by a vindication of Prince Albert, and trying to throw the blame of the attacks (which originated with the Radical Press) upon the Conservative party. Lord Derby made a fine speech upon Turkey, and also exonerated the Prince most completely as well as his own party.

February 8th.—The conditions on which Count Orloff offered to treat were four in number:—

1st. That a Turkish Plenipotentiary should proceed to the head-quarters of the army, or to St. Petersburg, to open direct negotiations with Russia, with liberty to refer to the Four Powers.

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2nd. That the former treaties between Russia and the Porte should be renewed.

3rd. That Turkey should enter into an engagement not to give an asylum to political refugees; and

4th. That the Porte should recognise by a declaration the Russian protectorate of the Greek Christians, which was the origin of the quarrel. Of course, Lord Clarendon might well say that these proposals are inadmissible, as they amount, in fact, to a considerable increase of Prince Menschikoff's formal demands. Baron Brünnow left London yesterday, so the die is cast.

Kisseleff is also gone from Paris. General Schilder, who has been sent to the Danubian Provinces by the Czar, reports that the Russian army is in a pitiable condition.

February 9th.—Government beaten in the House of Commons on a motion of Mr. Chambers to investigate the claims of an English company at Madeira against the Portuguese Government. I fear Disraeli voted against the Government, as it is his policy to join with anybody in order to defeat them. Sailors are coming in very fast. The rapidity with which our ships are equipped excites the astonishment of the French, and now that we fight with them they are quite enthusiastic about us.

February 13th.—Three battalions of the Guards and other troops to the number of 10,000 go immediately to the East. The Duke of Cambridge, Lord Cardigan, and General Brotherton are all mentioned as having commands, and Lord Raglan is to be Commander-in-Chief. London is very sad. The papers bluster a good deal for war, but it is still very doubtful whether Lord Aberdeen is in earnest.

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The Reform Bill is considered a revolutionary measure, and has created great alarm. Louis Napoleon has written to the Czar without any previous communication with the English Government. When a battalion of the Guards left London yesterday amidst the acclamations of the people, they bought up all the oranges at the stalls along their line of march to give to the soldiers.

February 21st.—Disraeli made a beautiful speech yesterday on the Eastern Question. I hear that at a dinner at the Palmerstons, Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, Molesworth, &c., were pictures of woe, and neither ate, talked, nor smiled. There was a party in the evening, and Disraeli came in radiant.

February 22nd.—The Czar's answer to the French Emperor is said to be very uncourteous. This passage amongst others is quoted: 'I have the firm confidence that my troops will reply in the same manner as in 1812.'

February 25th.—Lord Bath has come back from Constantinople, and says that Lord Stratford openly boasts having got his personal revenge against the Czar [1] by fomenting the war. He told Lord Bath so.

February 26th.—Lord Harry Vane will bring forward a motion to postpone the Reform Bill.

Mr. Disraeli to Lord M.

House of Commons: February 28, 1854.

My dear M.,—They say that the Sunday Council was positively on Reform; Palmerston on the Saturday previous having declared

[1] For refusing to receive him as Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

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that the withdrawal of the Reform Bill was indispensable; Russell, Aberdeen, Graham, and Newcastle thereon threatening resignation. They say that Palmerston is 'firm,' but that the break-up will not occur till the estimates are past.

One apparent proof of this latter theory is that Lord John has proposed to continue the estimates to-morrow (Wednesday)—very unusual—and has given notice of the Budget for next Monday—only a week's notice, and a very sudden and precipitate financial exposition.

My conclusion is that the Cabinet is in convulsions; whether it may be soothed by any Daffy's Elixir remains to be proved, but, at the best, it's a poisonous remedy.

D.

March 10th.—The Queen reviewed the fleet at Spithead, previous to their departure for the Baltic. The French fleet is not ready, neither are their transports for the troops. Sir Charles Hotham, who is appointed Governor of Victoria, told me that he had asked the Duke of Newcastle to allow him to exchange his appointment for a ship. The Duke answered that 'if he did not take what had been given him he should have nothing,' that the Government hung together in every respect, so there was no use in his applying to Sir James Graham. He did, however, do so, and met with a flat refusal. Nothing can exceed their jealousy of Sir Charles Hotham's success in negotiating the treaty with South America, where I sent him. They have packed him off to Australia, evidently to get him out of the way.

March 14th.—Lord Aberdeen and I have had a quarrel on the subject of an alleged breach of confidence on the part of a clerk appointed by me in the Foreign Office, and whom Lord Aberdeen publicly in the House of Lords accused of having 'scandalously betrayed his trust by divulging some matter connected with a secret correspondence on Russian

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affairs.' I asked him to name the person, and he said he did not know who it was, as if it was likely that he should not have asked, or taken pains to find out the name. I was taken by surprise and hampered by my utter ignorance of who was the accused and the evidence against him, but I soon ascertained that it was a Mr. Astley, whom I appointed, and who left the office some time ago to marry a lady of fortune. The accusation is, that since he left the office he spoke of a secret correspondence at a dinner at Lord Ashburton's, that Lord Stanley of Alderley gave Lord Aberdeen the information upon which he so rashly acted last night.

The discussion was renewed this afternoon, and I completely set down Lord Aberdeen amidst the cheers of my party.

The Government were silent, and not a soul said a word for their chief.

Lords Fitzwilliam and Grey spoke against him. Lord Clarendon, who was present, never said a word, so Lord Aberdeen was quite deserted, and must have seen what a strong feeling he had roused against himself by his unjustifiable accusation, made without any proof to sustain it.

The 'Morning Herald' and 'Morning Post,' in their report of the first night's discussion, mentioned Mr. Byng[1] as the person suspected, though no name whatever had been mentioned. This produced a great commotion among the whole Byng family, and old 'Poodle' Byng came up to me at White's, saying he heard his name had been mentioned as being suspected of giving information to the 'Times,' &c. I replied that that was quite absurd, as it was well known that

[1] A gentleman formerly a clerk in the F. O., and very well known in society as 'Poodle Byng,' a nickname given him by Mr. Canning owing to his curly hair.

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he had resigned his post at the Foreign Office immediately after the battle of Waterloo.

March 17*th.*—I got a letter from Mr. Astley indignantly denying the charge against him, and which I read to the House. Lord Aberdeen of course had nothing to do but to apologise, which he did in the fullest and handsomest manner, expressing his belief in Mr. Astley's innocence. He afterwards told me privately who his authority was, which enabled me to remind him of Sancho Panza's proverb, 'That the cask as often leaks from the top as from the bottom.'

March 18*th.*—Lord Lichfield died to-day, and Lady John Manners is dying of scarlet fever.

March 20*th.*—Returned from Farnham, Lord Manners's place. Read the secret correspondence published in the morning papers, which quite confirms what we have always suspected—namely, that the Czar was convinced the English Government under Lord Aberdeen would not object to his demands upon Turkey, telling them honestly what his intentions were, and offering them Egypt and Candia as a bribe.

March 23*rd.*—Colonel Rose[1] called. He tells me that we have lost the alliance of Prussia, chiefly through Bunsen, who frightened his master out of his wits by sending him a plan for the partition of Prussia, which he gave him to understand had been arranged between France and England. The first step the King took was to recall Bunsen, who, not liking to leave his comfortable house and good income in London, set about thinking how he should retrieve his

[1] Now Field-Marshal Lord Strathnairn.

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character as a zealous Prussian. The expedient he fixed on was to make a violent scene with Lord Clarendon. He accordingly went to the Foreign Office, and complained bitterly of the articles against Prussia in the English newspapers, and worked himself up into such a passion, using such intemperate language, that Lord Clarendon, not seeing through his real motive for picking a quarrel, lost his temper, and told him never to set his foot again in his house. This was just what Bunsen wanted. He immediately wrote off to the King, giving a flaming account of the gallant way in which he had taken the part of his country, and the order for his recall was cancelled.

It is now known through the telegraph that the ultimatum is refused, but the formal declaration of war cannot take place till the despatch has been received. Lady Palmerston told me that Prussia is quite on the side of the Czar.

March 26th.—The messenger returned last night from St. Petersburg. The Emperor was absent, but Count Nesselrode kept him for six days and then sent him away, saying the Emperor would not send any answer.

March 27th.—Both Houses of Parliament were crammed to-day to hear the Queen's Message read by the Chancellor and Lord John Russell, stating that Her Majesty feels bound to afford active assistance to her ally the Sultan against unprovoked aggression.

April 1st.—The Duke of Parma's assassination is supposed to have been from revenge and jealousy. He had gone to see some woman at a disreputable house. Her husband or lover concealed himself near the door, and when

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he came out stabbed him and made his escape. He was found dead by the police in the morning, the body already cold. It is, however, possible that the murder may have been political, and that the murderer knew his habits. The dismissal of Baron Ward from his Government and his exile from the country rather countenance this last supposition.

April 3rd.—News from Vienna of yesterday says the fortresses of Hirsova, Metchin, and Baberdagh were taken by the Russians on the 28th. They have now possession of a large tract of marshy country called the Dobrudscha; but the French think this a bad move, as the Russians are without resources or communications, with the Turkish army behind them.

April 4th.—Lord Mahon tells me there is bad news; the Turkish and Greek Ministers have been mutually withdrawn from Constantinople and Athens, so the two countries are at war. Until our troops arrive at Constantinople, with the French, the fleets cannot leave the Bosphorus; and, in the meantime, it is feared the Russians will take Varna. This comes of the delays of our Government, who detained our troops for no purpose whatever at Malta. The fleets could have left the Bosphorus long ago, and Varna have been safe.

It appears that the King of Greece favours the insurrection against the Turks; and Lord Clarendon told Baron Cetto the other day that if the King did not behave better we should dethrone him.

April 8th.—Left London for Paris.

April 10th.—I hear that 200,000 Austrians, under Arch-

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duke Albert, have been ordered to enter Servia with the consent of the Porte. It is further stated that the representatives of the four Powers signed a Protocol on the 9th containing a recapitulation of the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and comprising the evacuation of the Principalities. The Turks have gained a victory in the Dobrudscha, on the road to Silistria. The combined fleets are stationed, partly at Varna and partly opposite Sebastopol.

April 12*th.*—I hear Lord John Russell announced last night that the Reform Bill is given up for the present; and that he was so annoyed that he sent in his resignation, but has since been persuaded to resume his seat in the Cabinet. His secession would have broken up the Government, which all parties would regret at the present moment. There is no precedent for a Prime Minister resigning when the country is engaged in war. Bunsen is recalled.

April 14*th.*—The Porte has ordered the expulsion of the Greeks from Constantinople within fifteen days. The Duke of Cambridge has been well received at Paris, but I think the Emperor was rather hurt at his not going to the Tuileries.

April 15*th.*—Sir Charles Napier has left Kioje Bay for the eastward, towards the Gulf of Finland, with his whole fleet. The insurgents in Greece have been defeated in spite of all the exertions made by the King and Queen of Greece to encourage the movement. They deserve to lose their throne. I dined to-day at the English Embassy to meet the Duke of Cambridge. To the great amusement of the company the

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party got so jumbled up at dinner that Jem Macdonald, Aide-de-camp to his Royal Highness, sat on the right hand of Lady Cowley, the place of honour, though, besides his chief, there were two Dukes and other Peers. Everything in Paris is enormously dear, especially ladies' dresses. I called on Madame de Bonneval, who, I fear, is dangerously ill.

April 16th.—No news from the Danube in confirmation of the fall of Odessa. It would be most important, as General Lüders' army in the Dobrudscha receives its supplies from there. It is, however, blockaded.

April 21st.—The war is decidedly unpopular here in Paris, as the French think they have no direct interest in it, and care little for being our allies. A war against Prussia would be popular, as they have still a great hankering after the frontier of the Rhine. The splendour and extravagance of the style of living in Paris far surpasses anything in London. I only saw the Emperor at his ball at the Elysée.

April 22nd.—The Duke of Cambridge is gone to Vienna on his way to Constantinople. I arrived in London from Paris with a total *extinction de voix.*

April 23rd.—Went to Heron Court.

April 25th.—The Convention between England and France was signed in London on the 10th inst. It disclaims all idea of conquest, and leaves it open for every other Power to join. The 'Fury' was fired upon by the Russians at Odessa, in spite of her flag of truce. She

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captured a Russian schooner; but, being chased by five men-of-war from Sebastopol, was obliged to leave her prize, which she had cut out under the guns of Sebastopol; but she escaped with her prisoners, although she did not sink her prize from motives of humanity, one man having been left on board by mistake.

May 1st.—Odessa was bombarded for an hour on the 18th, and for the whole day on the 22nd. Four gun batteries were destroyed, one Austrian and eight Russian ships burnt. This is our revenge for the cowardly attack of the Russians on the boat we sent for the Consuls.

May 3rd.—I had a long and confidential conversation yesterday with Palmerston, whom I met at dinner at the Walewskis, and we agreed perfectly on all points of foreign policy. He said the Government had information that the fleets had left Odessa on the 26th, so they had done all they intended. The Greeks have been defeated in two engagements by the Turks, but the King is obstinate, in spite of our remonstrances.

May 11th.—In the House of Lords I asked the Government whether the attack on Odessa was in violation of the flag of truce, or whether Admiral Dundas's orders justified him in bombarding the town the moment war was declared. The Duke of Newcastle refused to answer the question.

May 12th.—Admiral Hamelin's report of the bombardment of Odessa quite agrees with what we have heard already.

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The Russian magazines were burnt, but he does not mention any ships of war being destroyed. The conflagration lasted twenty-four hours after the cannonade ceased. All accounts agree in saying that the 'Terrible' had the honours of the day; she had twelve shots in her hull, and ten men killed and wounded. Government were beaten last night on a clause of the University Bill; this is the second important defeat they have sustained; they have failed in every bill they have brought forward this session—the Scotch Education Bill, their Reform Bill, the Oaths Bill, and the Poor Law Settlement Bill—yet they call themselves a strong Government!

The 'Gazette' of last night publishes the despatches of Admiral Dundas on the bombardment of Odessa. They are abominably written, give no details, and have not even the merit of being concise. The French Admiral's report is very superior. Madame Walewska's fancy ball last night was very pretty. I saw Lord Derby to-day; he looks very weak and low, and is annoyed at my going abroad for so long as three weeks, which I am obliged to do in order to take Lady Malmesbury to Carlsbad, which her doctors say is indispensable, as she has been very ill. The life Lord Derby leads in London must be very unwholesome; he never walks or rides, but sits all day in a back room, without taking any exercise, until he goes to the House of Lords from St. James's Square. I call on him very often, and he seems always pleased to see me. Disraeli is furious with the war, which he thinks keeps Government in.

May 19th.—There is a report, I fear too true, that the English war steamer, the 'Tiger,' has gone ashore near Odessa, her captain wounded and her crew taken prisoners.

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May 23*rd.*—Lord Durham and Lady Bertha Hamilton were married this morning, and are to spend the honeymoon at Woburn, which place the Duke of Bedford lent, adding that he hoped they would not stay very long. His son, Lord Cosmo Russell, observed that they were better off than a couple he knew, who, not having any place whatever where they could go for their honeymoon, were reduced to call a hack cab, and desire the driver to drive them three times very slowly round the Regent's Park.

May 24*th.*—The news of the capture of the 'Tiger' is confirmed. She was chasing a Russian ship when she grounded.

May 26*th.*—Left London with Lady Malmesbury for Carlsbad. Left Calais at three and reached Ghent at eight.

May 27*th.*—Left Ghent at ten and reached Cologne at six P.M.

May 28*th.*—Sleep has been impossible, from the noise that lasted all night at the hotel.

May 29*th.*—Reached Magdeburg.

May 30*th.*—Here we parted. I went to Dresden and Lady Malmesbury to Zwickau on her road to Carlsbad.

I went to Augsburg and returned to London, reaching it on June 10. It is said the Duke of Newcastle is to be War Secretary, at which Lord Palmerston is furious, because he

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wanted it, and certainly would have been the fittest person. The King of Greece has given in and sent for the English and French Ministers, promising to observe strict neutrality, but he is not to be trusted. The following changes have taken place in our Government: Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for War; Sir George Grey, Colonies; Lord John Russell, President of the Council; Lord Granville, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the place of Mr. Strutt, who resigns.

June 18th.—The Russians have been attacking Silistria for three days, and have been repulsed each time. Captain Gifford, of the 'Tiger,' is dead of his wounds, and the first lieutenant has been sent for by the Emperor to St. Petersburg; the rest of the crew are sent to Moscow.

June 19th.—Dreadful to say, the 'Europa,' a transport carrying seventy men and horses of the Enniskillen Dragoons, has been burnt at sea. The captain of the 'Europa' publishes an account of the burning of his ship. Colonel Moore, of the Enniskillens, the surgeon, and twelve privates, were burnt. The colonel might have saved himself, and was repeatedly pressed by his men to do so, but finding he could not save all his soldiers, he chose to die with them—a magnificent example of heroic devotion. The rest of the crew and soldiers escaped in boats. The 'Tribune' came up too late to be of any use, and found the 'Europa' burnt to the water's edge, and not a living human being to be seen.

We had a great debate on the war to-day. Lords Derby and Lyndhurst made splendid speeches.

Lord Aberdeen deprecated anger against Russia, &c.

A desperate battle took place on the 14th under Silistria.

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Generals Schilder and Gortschakoff both wounded; Orloff badly so.

June 25th.—A telegraphic despatch from Copenhagen gives an account of our disaster at Gumba Kusleby. The 'Odin' and 'Vulture' landed 150 men. These were attacked by sharpshooters in ambuscade and by a masked battery of five guns. Lieutenant Barrington and five men were killed and sixteen wounded, the rest being taken prisoners. The Convention between Austria and the Porte was signed at Constantinople on the 14th; it assures the occupation by Austria of the Danubian Principalities. The siege of Silistria has been raised, and the Russians have re-crossed the Danube.

July 6th.—News has arrived that Nicholas has refused all negotiation, and will make war to the last man and rouble. Six more regiments of infantry and two of cavalry are to sail this week for the Black Sea, which will give us altogether 33,000 men. The 10th Hussars are to go from India. This decision of Nicholas removes all possibility of disputes about places in the Cabinet. The House of Commons has become quite unmanageable—showing utter want of confidence in the Government and a determination to support nothing but the war.

July 18th.—Lady Malmesbury arrived in London from Carlsbad. She describes politics as running very high there. When she first arrived, Madame Colloredo, whom she had known as Ambassadress in London, was very friendly, and constantly with her, the Duchess of Grafton, Mr. Hope, and other English; but as transactions of a doubtful nature took place with Austria, and it appeared uncertain what line that

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Government would take with respect to the war, Madame Colloredo and many other Germans gradually cooled towards the English category at Carlsbad, and finally cut them.

The progress or failure of a national dispute may easily be judged of by the spectators from the manner and behaviour of diplomatic personages, who think it right to make a personal demonstration of what is going on.

July 20th.—Admiral Napier, after making a great demonstration before Cronstadt, has retired without firing a shot, to the disgust of the whole fleet. The English have driven the Russians out of the forts at the Sulina mouth of the Danube. The 'Furious' has gone to Odessa with Russian prisoners, to exchange them against the crew of the 'Tiger.' The Circassian hero, Schamyl, refuses the assistance of English officers; all he requires is ammunition.

July 30th.—'The Press' says that Admiral Stopford is gone or going to the Black Sea, as it is said that Admiral Dundas does nothing but pray. It is singular that, of the two admirals in command of the Black Sea and the Baltic fleets, one is always praying and the other always swearing; but they, however, seem to agree on one point—namely, in not fighting.

August 3rd.—The cholera has broken out among the French troops at Varna. There is a report that the allied fleets have taken Bomarsund. Admiral Corry, second in command, has come home invalided. It is generally supposed that he has quarrelled with Napier in consequence of his inactivity, and come back to England in disgust. Affairs at home are not more flourishing, as the Government gets beaten almost every night in the House of Commons.

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August 4th.—We went to Chillingham.

August 7th.—Left Chillingham for Achnacarry.

September 21st, Achnacarry.—A private letter says that the French force does not exceed 23,000 men, which is a thousand less than the English. However, we shall, I trust, be strong enough not to be beaten in the field, even if we cannot take Sebastopol, for which there is hardly time at this advanced season.

September 23rd.—I went out fishing on Loch Arkaig and caught a bull trout of 18 lb., and Lord Edward Thynne a *salmo ferox* of 13 lb.

September 27th.—A telegram from Lord Raglan, dated September 16, announces the disembarkation of the allied armies near the Old Fort. The swell had impeded the operations, and the exertions of the fleet under Rear-Admiral Lyons excited the admiration of the whole army, which, with artillery and baggage, has now begun its march upon Sebastopol.

Lord Derby to Lord M.

Knowsley: October 2, 1854.

My dear Malmesbury,—Urgently as Disraeli pressed it, I will not allow myself to contemplate the possibility of anything so horrible as a November session, and consequently put no faith in Lady ——'s *facts*. If such a fatality should occur, I should probably have a meeting to discuss our course of policy; but that must be in a great measure guided by the success or reverses of the war. In the Baltic we have made a failure, though Russia has proved herself a far less formidable enemy than was expected. I am looking with anxiety for to-day's papers, as I received yesterday a telegraphic notice of a Gazette Extraordinary having been published

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late on Saturday night, giving an account of a very severe action, fought on the 20th, in which the Russian entrenched camp was carried at the point of the bayonet after three hours' hard fighting, and with heavy loss to the Allies. If this be true, the affair of Sebastopol may take up less time than was expected; and the capture of that fortress will make amends for much previous remissness; but if we should fail there, the country would be greatly and justly dissatisfied at the disproportion between our preparations and our performances.

I am sorry to hear that you have had such bad weather and sport. Our weather has been magnificent. I hardly ever remember so fine a month of September, and we have in most places plenty of birds. I had not been shooting well till the last day, but am improving in that and in walking; and, thanks to Dr. Ferguson and Providence, I am considerably a better man than I was this time last year.

Ever yours sincerely,

DERBY.

October 3rd.—News has arrived of a battle fought on September 20 between the Allies and the Russians. The latter had entrenched themselves on the heights above the Alma, where they had a force of 50,000 men with numerous cavalry and artillery. The attack began at one o'clock, and by half-past four the Allies had possession of the enemy's camp, which they took at the point of the bayonet. The English lost 1,400 men killed and wounded, and the French about the same. Lord Raglan has written to say that no words can give any idea of the admirable behaviour of the fleet under Lyons, both officers and men having exerted themselves most nobly, and been of the greatest use to the army, sparing themselves neither trouble nor fatigue.

October 10th.—Lord Burghersh has arrived with despatches announcing the death of Marshal St. Arnaud, Commander-

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in-Chief of the French army. His body has been sent to Constantinople. The French, who were on the right of the allied army, were close to the sea and protected by the fire of the steamers, which kept close along shore. The sailors behaved with their usual humanity and kindness, carrying the wounded to the ships with the greatest care.

October 13th.—The English army began its march upon Sebastopol the 23rd, bivouacked two nights on the Katchka and on the Baalbec, both strong positions, which would have given us great trouble had the Russians defended them; but they were so demoralised by their defeat on the Alma that they never stopped till they got to Sebastopol. We did not pursue them, for as it was important to reach the Tchernaya, where the army was to encamp, this was effected by an easy march the following day, the 26th, and brought the army in safety to Balaclava. Captain Maxse, who had come up with the army, volunteered to return alone to the coast, with a message to Lyons, asking him to come on to Balaclava. This perilous undertaking was so happily accomplished by Captain Maxse, that when the English arrived at Balaclava they found the 'Agamemnon' already there, and Lyons came immediately to meet Lord Raglan.

October 25th.—No news from the Crimea, except in private letters. All these speak of the dreadful mortality amongst our troops from cholera, arising from the want of tents; all our men having slept on the bare ground since they landed, whilst the French and Turks have had tents the whole time.

News has at last been received through Dr. Rae of the fate of poor Franklin and his companions; it is even worse than was anticipated. They all perished from hunger in

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the spring of 1850. Dr. Rae heard it from a tribe of Esquimaux, who saw forty white men four years ago, who told them that their ships had been crushed by the ice, and they were trying to find their way back to North America. Some time after, the Esquimaux found the bodies of thirty men lying dead, about a day's journey from Bach's river, and five more on an island. They had tents, guns, and ammunition, and from the mutilated state of some of the bodies, and the contents of the kettles, it is supposed that they had been driven to eat each other.

October 26th.—Mrs. Anson, whose husband has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in India, has sailed. She embarked at Southampton, and the whole of her friends went to take leave of her.

October 30th.—A letter from Louis Napoleon to Madame St. Arnaud is published, in which is the following passage: 'Your husband has united his name to the military glories of France from the time when, deciding on landing in the Crimea, in spite of timid counsels, he gained with Lord Raglan the battle of the Alma, and opened to our army the road to Sebastopol.'

October 31st.—The bombardment of Sebastopol began on the 17th by sea and land. The fleet attacked Fort Constantine and sustained great loss—90 killed and 300 wounded. The 'Agamemnon' suffered most. Not much damage was done to the fortifications, and the fleet had not renewed the attack.

November 2nd.—A despatch says that a sortie against

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the French batteries had been completely successful, and that eleven guns and eight mortars had been spiked. It adds that Lord Dunkellin has been taken prisoner.

November 6th.—A despatch from Lord Stratford from Constantinople, dated October 28th, confirms Menschikoff's announcement of a successful attack being made by a force of 30,000 men upon Balaclava. The Turks fled, but the Highlanders stood their ground, and gave time for reinforcements to arrive. The light cavalry regiments suffered dreadfully.

November 8th.—Left Achnacarry at 7.30 A.M., and reached Dunkeld at 10.30 P.M.; the whole country is under snow, and has been so for a fortnight. It looks as if we were to have a very severe winter, and I fear that our army in the Crimea will suffer dreadfully, the Duke of Newcastle having shown hitherto no power of organisation.

November 14th, Chillingham.—The account of the affair of October 25th at Balaclava is very sad, although most glorious to our arms, rivalling the most heroic deeds of antiquity. Six hundred cavalry charged the whole Russian army down a valley of a mile long, defended by artillery and infantry along the heights on both sides, and a battery of nine cannon in front, supported by numerous cavalry. Our small force cut its way through all these obstacles, and then cut its way back, but with the loss of two-thirds of their men.

Nothing could be done to save them. The French did their best by taking a battery, but the whole army and the Light Division itself when it started knew they were going to certain destruction. It is not known who gave the fatal

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order, for Captain Nolan, who delivered the message to Lord Lucan, was one of the first to fall, killed by a shell; but it is supposed that Lord Raglan sent an order for the light cavalry to charge to get back the captured guns if practicable, and that Lord Lucan understood it as a positive order, leaving him no discretion. He therefore ordered the charge, which was led by Lord Cardigan with the greatest gallantry. There is a telegraphic despatch of November 6, from General Canrobert, saying that on the 5th the English positions were attacked by the whole Russian army in the presence of the Grand Dukes Nicholas and Michael, and sorties made at the same time on the English and French lines, all of which were repulsed. Canrobert speaks of the solidity of the English, who, as usual, bore the brunt of the battle, which lasted all day. The French supported us gallantly with the division of General Bosquet. Our loss is said to be severe, especially in the Guards, who fought desperately; five generals wounded, amongst whom were two of our best, Bentinck and Brown. It is, however, a glorious victory, and the more satisfactory as it was gained in the presence of the Grand Dukes, who will, of course, tell the truth to the Emperor.[1]

Captain and Mrs. Burrell are here. The former related an amusing adventure which happened to him at Newcastle, where he was quartered. He had a severe attack of small-pox, and was confined to his bed at the hotel. During his illness a young lady with her carriage and servants, of fashionable appearance, arrived there, intending to stay for one night only; but on hearing that a young officer was dangerously ill in the same house, she expressed great interest, and instead of leaving next morning she announced

[1] This was the famous battle of Inkermann.

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her intention of remaining a few days, constantly repeating her inquiries as to the state of the sick man. Captain Burrell was extremely touched at her romantic conduct, which he took as a personal compliment, but when recovering, the doctors announcing that he was safe, and the lady being informed of the fact, she ordered her carriage, after telling the waiter that she was 'much disappointed, as her object in stopping was to see a military funeral.'

Lord Raglan to Lord M.

Before Sebastopol: November 14, 1854.

My dear Lord Malmesbury,—I have had the pleasure of perusing your letter of October 15 from the Highlands, and am very much flattered and obliged by your sincere and hearty congratulations on the victory of the Alma. Let me take this opportunity of saying that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of your kindness and confidence when you were at the Foreign Office.

Poor St. Arnaud! He went off very suddenly. He was ill in several instances at Varna, and worse on the transit from thence to the Crimea, but he rallied afterwards, and it was only on the 25th, the day before he resigned the command, that I saw he was very ill. We have had some very rough work since we sacked Balaclava on September 26, and now we have the most violent gale of wind, which impedes operations for the moment.[1]

Yours very sincerely,

RAGLAN.

November 17th.—I hear that Jem Macdonald, the Duke of Cambridge's aide-de-camp, has had two horses shot under him and his cocked hat knocked off.[2] He is the life and soul of the army and invaluable to the Duke. Lady Durham is here, quite charming, very pretty, and so unaffected, never

[1] The gale here alluded to became a perfect hurricane, and destroyed a great number of our ships and many hundred lives.

[2] When his second horse was killed under him he only laughed and said: 'This sort of thing only happens to younger brothers!'

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apparently thinking of her beauty or dress, and full of spirits and gaiety.

November 23rd, Knowsley.—I arrived with Lord Derby at Knowsley. The state of affairs in the Crimea is very alarming, but nothing remains to us but to take Sebastopol or perish. I hear that Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar writes that all the officers and men are in tatters like so many beggars, and all from the highest to the lowest covered with vermin. They have neither clothes to change nor water to wash with, having barely sufficient to drink.

November 24th.—There has been a violent hurricane in the Black Sea on the 14th, and four transports were wrecked.

November 29th.—Left Knowsley for London. The storm on the 14th in the Black Sea was terrific; above thirty transports were wrecked. The 'Prince,' a large Government screw steamer, was lost with all on board. The 'Agamemnon' went on shore, but was got off without damage. The French lost a ship of 100 guns and a war steamer, the 'Henri IV.,' but the crews were saved.

December 5th.—Our losses in the Black Sea are confirmed. The 'Prince,' screw steamer, had landed the 46th Regiment, but none of their stores. The storm came on so suddenly that none of the ships except Admiral Dundas's, off the Katchka, had time to get an offing. Fortunately their anchors and cables held, and they rode out the gale, but all the transports were driven on shore. The Russians came down to the beach, and one gentleman in a carriage drawn by four horses addressed our sailors in very good English,

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assuring them that they would be well treated if they came on shore; but they refused, and they proved to be right, for the next day the gale abated and the boats from our men-of-war took them off in safety. The French were less fortunate; their transports, being smaller, were thrown on the beach and all the crews taken prisoners, among them the crew of the 'Henri IV.,' a 100-gun ship.

The 'Prince' was lost owing to the carelessness of the crew in not clinching the cables, which ran out with the two largest anchors. There was only one small one, therefore, to hold that immense ship, which was dashed upon the rocks near Balaclava, and reduced to splinters in ten minutes. Only six men out of 150 saved, and the whole cargo, consisting of the warm clothing for the troops, the medical stores, and a large quantity of ammunition, was lost. Their value is estimated at 500,000*l.*

December 6th, Heron Court.—The Duc de Richelieu and General Sir George Bowles arrived. The latter says that the 'Prince' steamer was left seven days outside the harbour of Balaclava, although the authorities there must have known the importance of her freight to the army.

December 7th.—We have made a treaty with Austria. I asked Lord Granville if it was satisfactory, but he said it was only a step in the right direction. He also said that Lord Raglan had written to the Government that he had ascertained the Russian loss at Inkerman was 25,000 men. The destruction at the passage of the bridge was tremendous. Our guns had got the exact range and swept away masses at every discharge, the Russians having only one bridge across the river. It was there the two Grand Dukes were seen trampling

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over their own men in their haste to escape. They left the army that very evening. Menschikoff sent a messenger to the Emperor to announce his defeat, but had not time to write a despatch. The plan of the attack had been arranged by the Emperor himself, who thought success was certain; and, when the messenger arrived he said, 'Well, we have gained the victory?' The messenger replied that, on the contrary, the Russians were defeated, upon which the Emperor in a fury cried, 'Vous mentez! Sortez!' He sent again for him and insisted upon particulars, which only redoubled his rage, and he again dismissed him in the same insulting way, refusing positively to believe in the defeat of his army. This he did three times. The officer is said to have told the exact truth—namely, that there were 60,000 Russians against 15,000 English and French. The intention of this great attack upon the Allies was well known among the Russians at home, as Brünnow told Madame de Lieven three days before that he knew that within that time they would be driven into the sea.

December 9th.—The 'Standard' of this morning gives the treaty with Austria. It is so far satisfactory that, although it contains no declaration against Russia, it shows such a decided adhesion to our policy, and wish to give the Allies every passive assistance to make war against Russia, that it is pretty evident that, if a durable peace cannot be made soon, Austria will join us openly. The treaty now published must be so offensive to Russia, that Austria must be aware she has forfeited all claim to her friendship. (Query, Is there any secret article as to our guaranteeing the integrity of the Austrian dominions, in case of her joining us in making war against Russia?)

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December 11*th.*—Left Heron Court. The deplorable state of our troops in the Crimea is described and repeated in all the private letters that arrive. It is impossible for this country to bear these accounts with patience, for every kind of negligence is attributed to the management of those responsible.

December 12*th, London.*—Parliament was opened by the Queen. There was a large attendance of Peers, and the ladies' gallery was quite filled. Lord Derby spoke first and made a very fine speech, though not quite so fluent as usual. The Duke of Newcastle answered, and defended himself in a prosy speech of three hours, delivered in a most monotonous, melancholy, hesitating tone. The House went to sleep after the first half-hour; at least I suppose the Government bench did so, as they none of them cheered him at all. He spoke like a man who knows he is in a scrape and cannot get out of it, but hopes to make the matter better by the length of his explanations.

December 13*th.*—I hear that the Duke of Cambridge is deeply affected at the losses which his brigade (the Guards) suffered at the last battle, and especially at the death of Colonel Blair, whom he went to see after the action, before he died of his wounds.

His Royal Highness was on board the 'Retribution' on the 14th, during the great storm, when she was all but lost, as she held on by a single anchor only, her engines going at full speed to ease the strain.

Dined with the Cannings, where we met Lord Dunkellin, who seems to have seen nothing during his passage as a prisoner through Russia, at least he can give no account of it. Perhaps he thought he was not justified in doing so.

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December 15*th.*—Thanks to the army and navy voted, the Foreign Enlistment Bill came on. Lord Ellenborough made a splendid speech, most damaging to the Government. They carried the bill by a majority of 12 in the Lords, which is considered almost a defeat. I trust, however, they will not go out.

December 19*th.*—Lord Hardinge, who is Commander-in-Chief, told me there are very bad accounts from the Crimea. The weather is horrid, the troops cannot keep dry in their tents, and they have not the ingenuity of the French in making huts. Their officers employ the Zouaves to build them huts, and pay them very highly for it. The soldiers are on half-rations, as provisions are failing. The horses had been eighteen hours without any food, and numbers are dead. Sir John Burgoyne writes to his daughter, Mrs. Wrottesley, that the state of the ground is such that, wishing to send a message to another part of the camp by a mounted orderly, the man could not get there. Quantities of hay floated in the sea after the wrecks, and could have been fished out with perfect ease, and enough wood to build huts for the whole army; but all was left to rot. It is probable all they can do is to get food. The distance from Balaclava is seven miles, uphill the whole way.

December 23*rd, Heron Court.*—The Foreign Enlistment Bill has passed the third reading in the Commons by 38.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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